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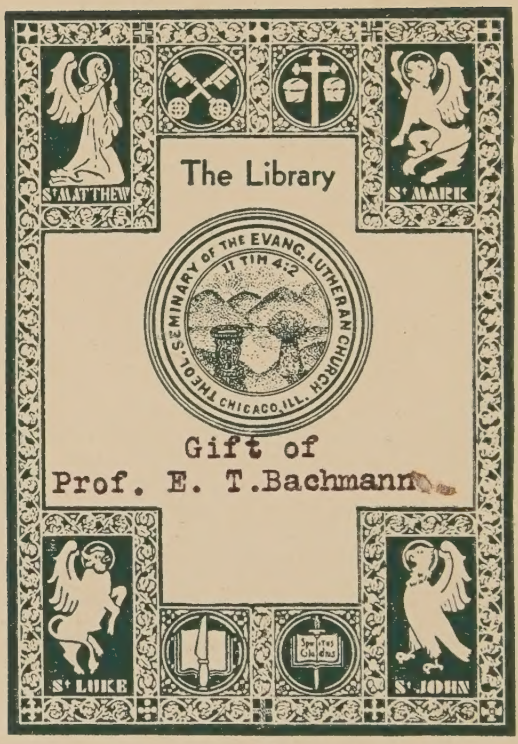
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A HISTORY

OF

ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE

VOLUME III

TACITUS' *GERMANIA* & OTHER FORGERIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	FOREWORD	IX–XI
II.	SOURCES QUOTED	XIII–XX
III.	ULFILAS	1– 64
IV.	JORDANES	65–173
V.	PSEUDO-BEROSUS	174–218
VI.	HUNIBALD	219–272
VII.	THE *GERMANIA* OF TACITUS	273–299
VIII.	PSEUDO-VENANTIUS	300–314
IX.	WORD INDEX	316–320
X.	SUBJECT INDEX	321–328
XI.	TABLES	331

FOREWORD

My *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, I must confess, suffers from a serious drawback—it is too conservative. When I wrote it, I was dimly conscious of the geological fault underlying the structure of Germanic history, philology, palaeography, and allied subjects, but I could not tear myself away from many accepted scientific conclusions, because it had not occurred to me that the stupendous scientific structure was reared exclusively on a foundation that would collapse the moment the geological fault led to an earthquake. Therefore I quoted Tacitus, Jordanes, and Auxentius as authorities, or, at least, did not disturb the conclusions to which they led. As my investigation proceeded, it became clearer and clearer that there was something wrong in the cherished authors, but I was totally unable to account for the positive references to Goths in the Greek authors, such as Procopius, and in the Greek synaxaries and martyrologies. It seemed incredible that such a distant subject as that dealing with the Goths, who had little in common with the Greeks, should have found its way so permanently into Greek thought.

A series of fortunate discoveries, many of them quite accidental, solved the puzzling questions beyond any expectation. The Graeco-Gothic relations became obvious at a flash, when the Tetraxite or Crimean Goths turned out to be a fraud. The whole history of the Crimean Goths is based on the definite account of John, the son of Photina, the bishop of the Goths, who was sent to the Tetraxite Goths at the end of the eighth century. All authors who have written on

the subject have taken pains to elaborate on the importance of the story, and the presence of this saint in the Greek synaxaries under June 26. When I discovered, quite accidentally, that this saint was purloined from John Bar-Aphtonia, the Syrian saint, given in the Syrian synaxaries under June 26 as a Syrian bishop in the first half of the sixth century, all the other Gothic entries in the Greek calendars became invalidated, such as the burning of the Gothic church and the references to Ulfilas. There was no escape—the Spanish Goths of the eighth and ninth centuries not only furnished wholesale literary and documentary frauds to the western world, but also inspired interpolations and more important frauds in Greek literature.

I still clung to Tacitus. I had been brought up in the worship of Tacitus, especially of his *Germania*. The more than seven hundred pages of A. Baumstark's *Ausführliche Erläuterung des allgemeinen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus*, and the more than three hundred pages of his *Ausführliche Erläuterung des besondern völkerschaftlichen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus*, filled me with awe. But one day, while confined to my room by an attack of the grippe, I picked up the *Germania*, to use it as an anodyne. Now, after I had become acquainted with the literary and linguistic balderdash of the Hispericists and had studied minutely Virgil Maro the Grammarian and Aethicus, I was struck by the amazing similarity in method in the *Germania* and the writers who had fallen under Arabic influence, and at a glance recognized that the *Germania* was merely an elaboration of Caesar's *De bello gallico*, where he deals with the manners of the Gauls and Germans and the mysterious animals. The investigation which followed proved this assumption correct down to the minutest detail.

The very great mass of material before me makes it impossible to treat it all in one volume, hence I only summarily refer to the forgeries and interpolations in Cassiodorus, Bede, and Ammianus. All these and many more will be analyzed in a future volume. The next volume will give the proof that the *Physiologus* is of Syrio-Arabic origin, and incidentally will confirm the fact that Gregory of Tours has come down to us highly interpolated and that a series of other works, ascribed to Rufinus and others, are eighth century forgeries. Meanwhile, I beg the reader to concentrate his attention on Jordanes' *Getica* and Tacitus' *Germania*, where the conclusions are final.

Again and again must I express my thanks to Mr. J. B. Stetson, Jr., of Philadelphia, through whose assistance my labors have brought such early fruition. The last chapter, on an interpolation in Venantius Fortunatus, is by Mr. Phillips Barry, who has followed my investigations for years, and is now collecting material on the origin of the Celtic *Antiquitas*.

The Author.

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ULFILAS

Not a single one of the contemporary writers on the conversion of the Goths knows either of their early Arianism or of Ulfilas, the Arian or Semi-Arian bishop of the Goths.

Socrates mentions in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (II.41) the Gothic bishop Theophilus, who was one of the signers of the Nicene creed. We shall later see that this passage is an interpolation of the eighth century, but the fact is apparently correct, for *Theophilus Gothiae Metropolis* is given as a signer for *Provincia Gothia* in the Nicene Council of 325, and if this list is genuine, the mention in Socrates is equally genuine.

Epiphanius tells how Audius, the founder of the Audian monasteries, was, in the middle of the fourth century, relegated to Scythia. He penetrated into the interior of Gothia and taught Christianity to many of the Goths, at the same time establishing there monasteries, at which strict discipline was maintained. In spite of the peculiar practices instituted by Audius, Epiphanius praises him as a good Christian and Catholic. After his death Silvanus was bishop of Gothia. Then the Catholic Goths were driven from Gothia, and they settled in Chalcis, near Antioch, and on the Euphrates. This violent persecution was instituted by a pagan king who hated the Romans and so transferred his hatred to the native Christians, who in his mind belonged to the same category as the Romans. But the persecution did not avail much, because wisdom cannot be eradicated.[1]

[1] «Ὑπέστη δὲ καὶ ἐξορίαν αὐτὸς ὁ γέρων Αὔδιος, εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Σκυθίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξορισθείς, διὰ τὸ ἀφηνιάζειν λαοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηνέχθη. Ἐκεῖ δὲ μάλιστα διατρίβων χρόνον ἐτῶν,

As Epiphanius says that the Goths had emigrated four years before, and his work on the heresies was written between 374 and 377, it is clear that he refers to the persecution by Athanaric, which is supposed to have driven Ulfilas into exile. Yet there is no reference here either to Ulfilas or to Arians. Indeed, St. Augustine in his *De civitate Dei*, distinctly says that there were none but Catholics there at the time: "Perhaps, however, it was not to be reckoned as a persecution, when the king of the Goths, in Gothia itself, persecuted the Christians with wonderful cruelty, *when there were none but Catholics there*, of whom very many were crowned with martyrdom, as we have heard from certain brethren who had been there at that time as boys, and unhesitatingly called to mind that they had seen these things?"[1]

οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πρόσω βαίνων, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐσώτατα τῆς Γοτθίας, πολλοὺς τῶν Γότθων κατήχησεν· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ μοναστήρια ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Γοτθίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ πολιτεία καὶ παρθενία τε καὶ ἄσκησις οὐχ ἥ τυχοῦσα. Ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο τὸ τάγμα πάνυ ἐν ἀναστροφῇ θαυμαστῇ· καὶ τὰ πάντα αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μοναστηρίοις καλῶς φέρεται, πλὴν τῶν φιλονεικιῶν τούτων, τῆς τε παραλλαγῆς τοῦ Πάσχα, τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἐγκειμένης τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁμολογίας . . . . . Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν γεγόνασι σὺν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, Οὐρανίός τις τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γοτθίας δὲ ἔσχε τινὰς, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους· ἀλλὰ καὶ Σιλουανός τις, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ὧν συμβέβηκέ τινας τοῦ βίου παύσασθαι, μάλιστα Οὐράνιον. Ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀναμέσον τοιούτου τάγματος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῶν τούτων Οὐρανίου καὶ Σιλουανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ Γοτθίας τελευτὴν, πολλοὶ διελύθησαν, καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον ἦλθε τὸ τούτων σύστημα, ἔν τε τοῖς μέρεσι Χαλκίδος τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Εὐφράτου. Καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Γοτθίας ἐδιώχθησαν οἱ πλείους, οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἐκεῖ Χριστιανοί, διωγμοῦ μεγάλου ἐνστάντος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἕλληνος, δεινοῦ τε γενομένου καὶ πρὸς ζῆλον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ τὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι Χριστιανούς, τὸ πᾶν γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀπελαθῆναι. Οὐ λείπει δὲ ῥίζα σοφίας, οὐδὲ φύτευμα πίστεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ δοκοῦσι πάντες ἀπηλάσθαι, πάντως εἰσὶν ἐκεῖθεν ἄνθρωποι. Οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ λεῖψαι τὴν πηγὴν τῆς πίστεως. Πολλοὶ οὖν ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν αὐτῶν Αὐδιανῶν τῆς Γοτθίας, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων μερῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες, παροικοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἐτῶν τεσσάρων,» *Adversus haereses*, in Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, vol. XLII, col. 372 f.

[1] "Nisi forte non est persecutio conputanda, quando rex Gothorum in ipsa Gothia persecutus est Christianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non essent nisi catholici, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati sunt, sicut a quibus-

In 404 St. Chrysostom was already in exile. While there he heard from the Marsan Gothic monks, where Serapion was bishop, that deacon Moduarius had brought news from Gothia that "that wonderful man," Unilas, whom he had ordained bishop and sent to Gothia, had died, after having accomplished many wonderful things, and that the king of the Goths had sent a letter in which he asked for another bishop. As the season for sailing was unfavorable, St. Chrysostom counseled delay, adding as another cogent reason that he was anxious to send the best possible man.[1]

The Gothic monks are called Marsan because they lived on the estate of Marsa. Palladius, in chapter IV of the Life of St. Chrysostom, speaks of the woman, the wife of Promotus, as a violent partisan against him. In a letter to the same Goths in the same year, Chrysostom speaks of them as the monks in Promotus' field, and praises them for having abstained from disturbances in the church of the Goths, which were, no doubt, instituted by this Marsa with the purpose

dam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant et se ista uidisse incunctanter recordabantur, audiuimus?" in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. XL², p. 356.

[1] «Ἐδήλωσάν μοι οἱ μονάζοντες οἱ Μαρσεῖς, οἱ Γότθοι, ἔνθα ἀεὶ κέκρυπτο Σεραπίων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὅτι Μοδουάριος ἦλθεν ὁ διάκονος ἀπαγγέλων, ὅτι Οὐνίλας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν πρῴην ἐχειροτόνησα καὶ ἔπεμψα εἰς Γοτθίαν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατορθώσας ἐκοιμήθη· καὶ ἦλθε φέρων γράμματα τοῦ ῥηγὸς τῶν Γότθων ἀξιοῦντα πεμφθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὁρῶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπειλουμένην καταστροφὴν συντελοῦν εἰς διόρθωσιν, ἢ μέλλησιν καὶ ἀναβολὴν (οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς πλεῦσαι εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον νῦν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα), ὑπερθέσθαι τέως αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα παρασκεύασον· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἁπλῶς αὐτὸ παραδράμῃς, κατόρθωμα γάρ ἐστι μέγιστον. Δύο γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστά με λυπεῖ εἰ γένοιτο, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τό τε παρὰ τούτων μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, τῶν τοσαῦτα κακὰ ἐργασαμένων, καὶ παρ' ὧν οὐ θέμις, τό τε ἁπλῶς τινα γενέσθαι. Ὅτι γὰρ οὐ σπουδάζουσί τινα γενναῖον ποιῆσαι, οἶσθα καὶ αὐτή. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασαι. Ἵν' οὖν μηδὲν τούτων γένηται, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποίησαι· ἀψοφητὶ δὲ εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ λανθανόντως τὸν Μοδουάριον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκδραμεῖν, μέγιστα ἂν ἠνύετο. Εἰ δὲ μὴ δυνατόν, ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρούντων τὰ δυνατὰ γινέσθω,» B. de Montfaucon, *S. Joannis Chrysostomi Opera*, Parisiis 1837, vol. III², p. 722.

of annoying Chrysostom.[1] It is quite likely that the juxtaposition *οἱ Μαρσεῖς οἱ Γότθοι* had later, in the eighth century, some part in creating Germanic *Marsi*, as introduced into Pseudo-Tacitus.[2]

In the contemporary writers there is no reference to a martyrdom by fire, such as is mentioned later in connection with the burning of a Gothic church. I have already shown how the burning of Goths at Cordoba has given rise to the legend.[3] The discordant dates given for the burning in the synaxaries and the Gothic calendar make it certain that we have here only an attempt to connect the burning with the persecution of Athanaric. The Greek synaxaries[4] place the event under March 26, between 367 and 375. The Gothic calendar puts it on October 29, while the *Chronicon Paschale* places the killing of the Goths at Laemomacellium and the burning of the Gothic church on July 12 of the year 400, in the reign of Arcadius.[5] As the *Chronicon Paschale* contains interpolations up to the eleventh century, we have only late and conflicting reminiscences of the eighth century event, as recorded by the Arabic writers.

So far we have not heard a word of Arian Goths. The first definite reference to them is in Italy, in the time of Ambrose. In 386 the court party tried to get Ambrose to leave Milan, but he remained for several days in the Basilica, surrounded by a large congregation, who would defend him against the soldiery without. In the sermon against the Arian Auxentius,

[1] «Τοῖς μονάζουσι τοῖς Γότθοις ἐν τοῖς Προμώτου . . . . Χάριν δὲ ὑμῖν ἔχω καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἣν ἐπεδείξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα θόρυβον γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ τῶν Γότθων,» *ibid.*, p. 863 f.

[2] See p. 160 f.

[3] See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 142 ff.

[4] See *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XXXI, p. 274 ff.

[5] «Καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει ἐσφάγησαν Γότθοι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Λαμομακελλίῳ· καὶ ἐκάη ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Γότθων σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει Χριστιανῶν μηνὶ πανέμῳ πρὸ δ' ἰδῶν Ἰουλίων.»

which he then preached, he referred to the Goths who, with the soldiers, assailed him; and in a letter to Marcellina,[1] written a year earlier, he spoke of the Goths "who, as of old they made their waggon their home, so now make the Church their waggon," that is, he spoke contemptuously of the Goths, who as mercenaries were serving the Arian empress Justina and therefore supporting the Arian cause.[2] We do not know what bishop was sent to Alaric after the death of Unilas, but when Alaric came to Italy he obviously favored the Arian cause, and naturally so. To make his campaign more effective, he had to assure himself of the support of the Italian Goths who had already allied themselves with the Arians. But his Arianism was not of the rabid anti-Catholic kind, hence his moderation during the sack of Rome, which was praised by all the Catholic writers of the time.[3] St. Augustine was not inimically disposed toward the Goths, because of their moderation, and he understood full well that it was chiefly political reasons which decided the adherence of the Goths to the Arian party. Indeed, he saw clearly that the various sects were trying to get the Goths on their side, even as did the Donatists, "because the Goths were getting to be powerful."[4]

[1] *The Letters of S. Ambrose*, Oxford 1881, p. 131.

[2] "Prodire de Arianis nullus audebat; quia nec quisquam de civibus erat, pauci de familia regia, nonnulli etiam Gothi. Quibus ut olim plaustra sedes erat, ita nunc plaustrum Ecclesia est. Quocumque femina ista processerit, secum suos omnes coetus vehit," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XVI, col. 997.

[3] "Inmanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae inplendae populo cui parceretur eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captiuandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non uidet, caecus," *De civitate Dei*, I. 7; etc.

[4] "Aliquando autem, sicut audivimus, nonnulli ex ipsis volentes sibi Gothos conciliare, quando eos vident aliquid posse, dicunt hoc se credere quod et illi credunt," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XXXIII, col. 793.

Only some time after the fifth century did the perplexed Greek church historians ask themselves how it all happened that the Goths became Arians. Socrates says that the Goths were divided into two factions, that of Fritigern, who had fled to the Romans, and that of Athanaric, across the Danube. Fritigern received aid from the Romans against Athanaric, and after a victory over him, the Goths out of gratitude became Arians, like Valens, who had aided them. At that time, Ulfilas invented the Gothic letters and translated the Bible into Gothic; but because he also converted the Goths of Athanaric, who was a pagan, the latter persecuted them, so that even Arians became martyrs.[1] This account is not only in total disagreement with the contemporary account of Athanaric's persecution of Catholic Goths only, but with Socrates' own account of Ulfilas, who had subscribed to the compromise creed of Constantinople, after having followed the Nicene creed of Bishop Theophilus.[2]

Sozomenus says that the Goths fleeing across the Danube from the Huns sent a legation, headed by Ulfilas, the bishop of the Goths, asking permission to settle in Thrace. Then the Goths split up into the party of Fritigern and Athanaric, and the people of Fritigern became Arians, in gratitude for the aid received from Valens. Ulfilas had originally not in any way differed from the Catholic communicants, but, having come to Constantinople and having met the Arians, either out of policy or conviction turned Arian, drawing the whole people with him. Ulfilas gave the Goths a translation of the Bible. Then Athanaric persecuted the Christians. He carried a statue on a carriage to the Christian sanctuaries and ordered the Christians to worship it. If they did not

[1] *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 41.

do so, they were burned in their churches.[1] Sozomenus, too, knows of the presence of Ulfilas at the conciliabulum of Constantinople, where he subscribed to the modified creed of Ariminum.

When St. Augustine spoke kindly of the Goths, though they were Arians, it did not occur to him to speak of Arian martyrs, first, because, according to his own statement, there were only Catholic martyrs in Gothia, and secondly, because it was inconceivable for a Catholic to class Arians as martyrs. The Arians were Christians, and as such they stood high above the pagans, is what St. Augustine repeatedly says, but, if he had classed Arians who were burnt to death as martyrs, he would have had to call Valens a martyr, since he was burnt to death by the pagan Goths. Yet here, in Socrates and Sozomenus, we hear of Arian martyrs who were burnt to death in their churches, an exceedingly improbable statement for Catholic writers to make. Besides, neither St. Augustine nor the Greek synaxaries nor the *Chronicon Paschale* know of anything but Catholic martyrs who were burnt to death. Obviously something is wrong in the accounts of Socrates and Sozomenus.

Theodoretus knows nothing of the martyrdom, and confines himself only to instructing the ignorant as to how the Arian contagion reached the Goths. According to him, the infamous Eudoxius persuaded Valens to try to convert the Goths to Arianism, although heretofore they had been true Catholics. At that time Bishop Ulfilas was a man of great power among them. Eudoxius bribed him with sweet words and with money to accept fellowship with the Arians. Hence the Goths consider the Father to be greater than the Son, but deny that the Son is created, although they commune with those who say so. Thus the Goths did not depart

[1] VI. 37.

from their ancestral religion, although they communed with Eudoxius and Valens.[1] Here we have a totally different account. We hear nothing of martyrs and of the invention of letters by Ulfilas, and Ulfilas is represented as a man bribed by Eudoxius to commune with the Arians, without departing from the Catholic religion, although the creed is, to say the least, Semi-Arian.

The most comfortable view would be to assume that the three Greek ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus, drew upon their imagination and a hazy account of a Gothic bishop Ulfilas, in order to explain the origin of Arianism among them; but there are a number of disquieting factors in such an assumption, which compel us carefully to investigate the story of Ulfilas as to its possible origin in the fifth century.

Ulfilas is absent from Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, and I shall now show that this work is a forgery, based to a considerable extent on Isidore.

Many parallel passages have been noted in Orosius and Isidore, and from the established fact that Orosius died about the year 418, while Isidore died in 636, it has been assumed that the latter everywhere borrowed from the *Historiae* of Orosius; but an examination of these parallel passages totally dispels such an assumption. Nothing can be done with identical passages in the two or with passages so divergent that the borrowing may have gone in either direction. I shall, therefore, confine myself to all such passages only as give us definite results one way or another.

The eighth and ninth century manuscripts of Orosius[2] have for a title: "Haec insunt in hoc codice historiarum Pauli Horosii praesbiteri adversum pa-

[1] IV. 33.

[2] C. Zangemeister, *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol. V, p. 1.

ganos libri numero septem lege feliciter: *Ormista g̃ miserabilis ł metiens sonat.*" Wild guesses have been made as regards the origin of the title *Ormista*, by which Orosius was frequently quoted,[1] but there can be no doubt as to the gloss: "*Ormista g̃* miserabilis ł metiens." *G̃* means "gotice," the glossator thinking of Goth. *armosta* "very poor;" but the second explanation, "metiens," shows that both the meaning "poor" and "measuring" are derived from the Arabic source from which Goth. *arms* and the corresponding OHGerman, ASaxon, etc., words are obtained. We have Arab. عرم عـ.م *'ārim*, *'arim* "evil in disposition, bad, corrupt, wicked, abominable," from عرم *'aram* "to bring calamity upon, be soft;" عرم *'arim* also means "a heap of grain," hence تعريم *ṭa'rīm* "to heap up, fill up the measure." In the latter sense the word is found in all the Semitic languages. We have Heb. עָרַם *'aram* "to be heaped, be clever, shrewd," Chald. עֲרֵימְתָא *'arēmṭā* "a heap of grain," Syr. ܥܪܝܡ *'arīm* "shrewd," ܥ̈ܪ *'aram* "he swelled, heaped up," etc. It is evident that the Arabic sense of "hardhearted, bad, miserable" developed from the idea "to swell up, be shrewd." The late Lat. *gremium* "acervus,"[2] found in Bible translations of the Itala type, is unquestionably derived from the same Semitic word, if not from Arabic, certainly from Syriac or Phoenician.

After the Prologue, the *Historiae* begin with an account of the miseries of the world. The oldest manuscripts here have as a title, in red letters, "*Ormestae*

[1] Th. von Moerner, *De Orosii vita eiusque Historiarum libris septem adversus Paganos*, Berolini 1844, p. 180.
[2] *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, vol. VIII, p. 191.

incp uolumen prium de trium partium terrae indicio."[1] Similarly, the second book begins with "incipit eiusdem secundum *de mundi erumpnis.*"[2] Thus there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that the title *Ormista* is the Gothic or Arabic for "the miseries of the world," as which the work was known.[3] In Gothic only the adjective *armosta* "ἐλεεινότερος, most miserable" is recorded. From this was formed by the Goths the title *Ormista* "misery," or, rather, "the greatest miseries."[4] Thus we have the positive proof that Orosius was the preoccupation of the Spanish Goths in the eighth century.

The Arabo-Gothic *arm* passed into OHGerman as *arm*, *aram* "aerumnosus, pauper, inops," *armida* "penuria, paupertas," etc. In ONorse *armr* never acquired the sense of "inops," but preserved only the Gothic sense of "wretched." The AS. *earm*, *arm* "poor, miserable, wretched" remained only a book word and has not survived in English. Thus the artificial origin of the group from an Arabo-Latin gloss is made obvious. We now have an additional proof, if such were necessary, that the Gothic Bible could not have been written before the eighth century, for it was Arab. *'arim* that led to Goth. *arms* "miserabilis," and Lat. *misericors*, not Gr. ἐλεεινός, produced Goth. *armhairtei* and the whole Germanic group which belongs here.

[1] Zangemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[3] Indeed, as late as the end of the ninth century, *ormesta* had the meaning of "miseria, excidium:" "necnon et sanctum Gyldam cujus sagacitate ingenii industriaque legendi atque in sacris canonum libris peritia, liber ille artificiosa compositus instructione, quem *Ormestam Brittaniae* vocant declarat," *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. I, p. 215.
[4] Of course, Lat. *aerumna* "misery" may have aided in the adoption of the Arabic word, but there is no evidence of it. The Latin word first occurs in Plautus, hence it is most likely of Phoenician origin, and, like *gremium*, belongs to our group.

In the Prologue of Orosius there is an expansion of a perfectly clear passage in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore:

Orosius.	Isidore.
Ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani uocantur siue gentiles quia terrena sapiunt, qui cum futura non quaerant, praeterita autem aut obliuiscantur aut nesciant, praesentia tamen tempora ueluti malis extra solitum infestatissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur Deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant, Prologue, 9.	Pagani ex pagis Atheniensium dicti, ubi exorti sunt. Ibi enim in locis agrestibus et pagis gentiles lucos idolaque statuerunt et a tali initio vocabulum pagani sortiti sunt. Gentiles sunt qui sine lege sunt, et nondum crediderunt. Dicti autem gentiles, quia ita sunt ut fuerunt geniti, id est, sicut in carne descenderunt sub peccato, scilicet idolis servientes et necdum regenerati, VIII. 10. 1–2.

Isidore got his definition from a Servius gloss to *Georgica*, II. 382, 383, "ingentes pagos et compita circum Thesidae posuere," which runs as follows: "*Pagos et compita circum*, id est per quadrivia—quae compita appellantur ab eo quod multae viae in unum confluant—et villas, quae pagi *ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν* appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi: unde et pagani dicti sunt, quasi ex uno fonte potantes. . . *Thesidae* Athenienses qui primi ludos instituere Liberalia. . . *compita* . . . ubi pagani agrestes, bucina convocati, solent inire concilia."

The gloss for *conpita* is given in Isidore in XV. 16. 12: "*conpeta*, quia plures in ea conpetunt viae," and in XV. 2. 15: "*conpita* sunt ubi usus est conventus fieri rusticorum; et dicta conpita quod loca multa in agris eodem conpetant, et quo convenitur a rusticis." How closely Isidore followed the Servius gloss is seen from the fact that he distinctly says that the pagi were first established by the Athenians. The statement that the gentiles placed groves and idols in the pagi is mentioned by Isidore in another place, where he derives *nemus* from *numen:* "nemus a numinibus nuncupatum, quia pagani ibi idola constituebant" (XVII.

6. 6). This etymology, as well as that of *gentiles*, shows conclusively that Isidore did not quote from Orosius, because there *gentiles* is left unexplained and hampering the sense. How is *gentiles* derived there from *pagus?* Obviously the statement in Orosius is a senseless condensation from Isidore. The rest of the passage in Orosius is a free and stupid rendering of St. Augustine's statement in the *Retractationes.*[1] As the *Retractationes* were written after 426, when Orosius was dead, it is obvious that Orosius could not have quoted St. Augustine. Besides, in the *Retractationes* St. Augustine speaks of Orosius as a "certain" Spanish presbyter who wrote to him about the Priscillianists and about Origen.[2] Had Orosius really written his *Historiae* at St. Augustine's request, we should have heard something about it from St. Augustine, who is silent on the matter. He quotes Orosius very frequently, but only in connection with the Priscillianist and Pelagian heresy, and would have been the last man to characterize the author of so wretched a Latinity as in the *Historiae adversus paganos* as "vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio," with which he recommends him to Jerome.[3]

[1] "Interea Roma Gothorum inruptione agentium sub rege Alarico adque impetu magnae cladis euersa est, cuius euersionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores, quos usitato nomine paganos uocamus, in Christianam religionem referre conantes solito acerbius et amarius Deum uerum blasphemare coeperunt. Unde ego exardescens zelo domus Dei aduersus eorum blasphemias uel errores libros *de ciuitate Dei* scribere institui. Quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit, eo quod alia multa intercurrebant, quae differre non oporteret et me prius ad soluendum occupabant. Hoc autem *de ciuitate Dei* grande opus tandem uiginti duobus libris est terminatum. Quorum quinque primi eos refellunt, qui res humanas ita prosperari uolunt, ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultum, quos pagani colere consueuerunt, necessarium esse arbitrentur, et quia prohibetur, mala ista exoriri adque abundare contendunt. Sequentes autem quinque aduersus eos loquuntur, qui fatentur haec mala nec defuisse umquam nec defutura mortalibus, et ea nunc magna, nunc parua locis temporibus personisque uariari, sed deorum multorum cultum, quo eis sacrificatur, propter uitam post mortem futuram esse utilem disputant," in *CSEL.*, vol. XL[1], p. 1.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XXXII, col. 648.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIII, col. 720.

The forger of the *Historiae* used for his geographical material Isidore's *Etymologiae*, expanding the extracts with bits from various authors, chiefly Pomponius Mela and Pliny. This is illustrated in the very beginning of the geographical part:

Orosius.	Isidore.
Maiores nostri orbem totius terrae, oceani limbo circumsaeptum, triquetrum statuere eiusque tres partes Asiam Europam et Africam uocauerunt, quamuis aliqui duas hoc est Asiam ac deinde Africam in Europam accipiendam putarint, I. 2. 1.	Undique enim Oceanus circumfluens eius in circulo ambit fines. Divisus est autem trifarie: e quibus una pars Asia, altera Europa, tertia Africa nuncupatur. Quas tres partes orbis veteres non aequaliter diviserunt. . . Quapropter si in duas partes orientis et occidentis orbem dividas, Asia erit in una, in altera vero Europa et Africa, XIV. 2. 1–3.

Fortunately we have Isidore's own assertion that he got the first part of the statement out of Hyginus,[1] and the second part from St. Augustine.[2] As the St. Augustine passage is from *De civitate Dei*, XVI. 17, which was written about ten years after the death of Orosius, and Hyginus' *Poeticon astronomicum* is unquestionably of a much later date, it is as clear as daylight that the forger cribbed the whole out of Isidore, where alone the two passages are combined. Observe the shrewd way in which the forger tried to cover his tracks. The parts are transposed; *veteres* is changed to *maiores nostri;* instead of *undique enim Oceanus circumfluens eius in circulo ambit fines* we have *oceani limbo circumsaeptum;* instead of *divisus trifarie* we have *triquetrum statuere* (which, by the way, is an

[1] *De natura rerum*, XLVIII. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, XLVIII. 2.

idiotic statement); instead of *Europa et Africa* we have *Africam in Europam accipiendam.*

Orosius.

Europa incipit ut dixi sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Riphaei montes Sarmatico auersi oceano Tanaim fluuium fundunt, qui praeteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri Magni in Rhobascorum finibus sitos Maeotidas auget paludes, quarum inmensa exundatio iuxta Theodosiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur. Inde iuxta Constantinopolim longae mittuntur angustiae, donec eas mare hoc quod dicimus Nostrum accipiat. Europae in Hispania occidentalis oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae uisuntur et Tyrrheni maris faucibus oceani aestus inmittitur, I. 2. 4–7.

Isidore.

Europa autem in tertiam partem orbis divisa incipit a flumine Tanai, descendens ad occasum per septentrionalem Oceanum usque in fines Hispaniae; cuius pars orientalis et meridiana a Ponto consurgens, tota mari Magno coniungitur, et in insulas Gades finitur, XIV. 4. 2. Gadis insula in fine Baeticae provinciae sita, quae dirimit Europam ab Africa, in qua Herculis columnae visuntur, et unde Tyrrheni maris faucibus Oceani aestus inmittitur, XIV. 6. 7.

Isidore, XIV. 6. 7 is directly borrowed from Solinus, XXIII. 12-13, "in capite Baeticae, ubi extremus est noti orbis terminus, insula a continenti septingentis pedibus separatur, quam Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythream, Poeni lingua sua Gadir, id est saepem nominaverunt . . . sed Gaditanum fretum, a Gadibus dictum, Atlanticos aestus in nostrum mare discidio inmittit orbis. nam Oceanus . . Europam radit, Africam dextero, scissisque Calpe et Abinna montibus quos dicunt columnas Herculis, inter Mauros funditur et Hispaniam." That the Orosius passage is not older is proved by Isidore's *in fine Baeticae provinciae sita*, which proceeds directly from Solinus' *in capite Baeticae*, which is absent from Orosius, and from *quae dirimit Europam ab Africa*, which is equally absent from Orosius. Hence Pseudo-Orosius took the last passage from Isidore, and not *vice versa*. He did not take it directly from Solinus, on account of the phrase, *Tyrrheni maris faucibus*, which Isidore, in the same

passage, evolved out of Solinus. The beginning of the passage is composite. It contains Isidore, and is filled up with scraps from various authors, loosely hung together, and by the *qua* apparently dependent on "plaga septentrionis."

Orosius.

In capite Syriae Cappadocia est, quae habet ab oriente Armeniam, ab occasu Asiam, ab aquilone Themiscyrios campos et mare Cimmericum, a meridie Taurum montem, cui subiacet Cilicia et Isauria usque ad Cilicium sinum, qui spectat contra insulam Cyprum, I. 2. 25.

Isidore.

Cappadociam urbs propria nominavit. Haec in capite Syriae sita ab oriente Armeniam tangit, ab occasu Asiam minorem, ab aquilone mare Cimmericum et Themiscyrios campos, quos habuere Amazones; a meridie vero Taurum montem, cui subiacet Cilicia et Isauria usque ad Cilicium sinum, qui spectat contra insulam Cyprum, XIV. 3. 37.

It is obvious that one has copied the other. That Isidore is the original is made immediately clear by the phrase, *Themiscyrios campos, quos habuere Amazones*, which is taken from a gloss of Servius to *Aeneid*, XI. 659. To "quales Threiciae" of Virgil, Servius writes "*Quales Threiciae* Tanais fluvius est, qui separat Asiam ab Europa, circa quem antea Amazones habitaverunt; unde se postea ad Thermodonta, fluvium Thraciae, transtulerunt: quod etiam Sallustius testatur, dicens *dein campi Themiscyrei, quos habuere Amazones, ab Tanai flumine, incertum quam ob causam, digressae.*" But *Thermodon* is in the Pontus, and *Themiscyrium* is nearby, as Mela has it, "ad Thermodonta campus, in eo fuit Themiscyrium oppidum" (I. 19). According to Mela, there was a city Cimmerium in Thrace, near the Tanais River (*ibid.*), and Ovid spoke of a Cimmerian Sea somewhere indefinitely in that region, possibly meaning the Azov Sea. Now Isidore, in trying to describe the border of Cappadocia as extending as far as Themiscyrium, thought of the

Servius gloss, in which he took the *Themiscyrei campi* to refer, not to the new region whither the Amazons went into the Pontus, but to a region close to the Tanais River, and so added the "Mare Cimmericum," which is not anywhere near Cappadocia, but near the Tanais River. That this mistake was made by Isidore is made certain by the reference to the Amazons, who came from the region of the Tanais River. Pseudo-Orosius dropped off the reference to the Amazons, as he generally avoided anything but strictly geographical references, and preserved both the *Mare Cimmericum* and the *Themiscyrei campi*, which are quite absurd without the omitted note.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Asia regio uel, ut proprie dicam, Asia minor absque orientali parte qua ad Cappadociam Syriamque progreditur undique circumdata est mari: a septentrione Ponto Euxino, ab occasu Propontide atque Hellesponto, ad meridiem mari Nostro, ibi est mons Olympus, I. 2. 26.	Asia minor ab oriente Cappadocia cingitur, ab aliis partibus undique mare circumdatur; nam a septentrione pontum Euxinum habet, ab occasu Propontidem, a meridie Aegyptium mare, XIV. 3. 38.

As the last phrase, *a meridie Aegyptium mare*, is from Solinus, XL. 1, Isidore cannot have copied from Orosius, who changed it to *mari Nostro*. Pseudo-Orosius had Solinus before him and from Isidore and Solinus created the blunder, *Asia regio uel, ut proprie dicam, Asia minor*. What Solinus says is this: "Sequitur Asia: sed non eam Asiam loquor, quae in tertio orbis divortio terminos amnes habet ab Aegyptio mari Nilum, a Maeotio lacu Tanaim: verum eam quae a Telmesso Lyciae incipit, unde etiam Carpathius auspicatur sinus" (XL. 1). But it did not occur to him to say that *Asia Regio* was another name for *Asia*

Minor, although *Asia* in the poets frequently stands for *Asia Minor*.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Igitur a monte Imauo hoc est ab imo Caucaso et dextra orientis parte qua oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad promunturium Boreum et flumen Boreum, inde tenus Scythico mari quod est a septentrione, usque ad mare Caspium quod est ab occasu, et usque ad extentum Caucasi iugum quod est ad meridiem, Hyrcanorum et Scytharum gentes sunt XLII, propter terrarum infecundam diffusionem late oberrantes, I. 2. 47.	Postea vero minor effecta, a dextra orientis parte, qua Oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum; dehinc a meridie usque ad Caucasi iugum deducta est, cui subiacet Hyrcania ab occasu habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem late vagantes, XIV. 3. 31.

We see at a glance that Isidore could not have quoted from Orosius, because *Boreum promunturium* is, according to Solinus, in Africa, and not in Asia, even as Isidore correctly states in XIV. 7. 7. It so happens that in the particular passage of Solinus there is no reference to Africa, hence Pseudo-Orosius made the blunder of thinking it somewhere in the extreme north. Solinus says (XXVII. 7): "*Borion promunturium* quod aquilone caeditur Graeci advenae sic vocaverunt." A river *Boreon* is not mentioned anywhere in Latin or Greek, but Aethicus, speaking of the region of the Caspian Sea, says, "in illis regionibus famosissimam, gyratam amnem *Beomaron* usque duorum iuga montium, conlocatam intra mare Caspium et oceanum *borricum*" (LX). No doubt it is this *Beomaron*, which Pseudo-Orosius read as *Boreon* and placed in the same region. Pseudo-Orosius quoted the whole passage from Isidore, and, as usual, added a worthless note.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Nunc quidquid Danuuius a barbarico ad mare Nostrum secludit expediam, I. 2. 54.	Provincias autem quas Danubius a Barbarico ad Mediterraneum mare secludit, XIV. 4. 5.

The *a barbarico* in Pseudo-Orosius makes no sense without a further explanation, whereas in Isidore it is due to his previous statement, which Pseudo-Orosius forgot to quote, "Prima Europae regio Scythia inferior, quae a Maeotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium et Oceanum septentrionalem usque ad Germaniam porrigitur; quae terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes, quibus inhabitatur, *Barbarica* dicitur" (XIV. 4. 3).

Orosius.	Isidore.
Thracia habet ab oriente Propontidis sinum et ciuitatem Constantinopolim quae Byzantium prius dicta est, a septentrione partem Dalmatiae et sinum Euxini ponti, ab occasu et Africo Macedoniam, a meridie Aegaeum mare, I. 2. 56.	Thraciae Thiras Iaphet filius veniens nomen dedisse perhibetur: alii a saevitia incolarum Thraciam appellatam dixerunt. Huic ab oriente Propontis et urbs Constantinopolis opposita est, a septentrione vero Ister obtenditur, a meridie vero Aegeo mari adhaeret, ab occasu Macedonia illi subiacet, XIV. 4. 6.

Isidore quotes Solinus (X. 23), "finibus Thraciae a septemtrione Hister obtenditur, ab oriente Pontus ac Propontis, a meridie Aegaeum mare." Pseudo-Orosius uses neither "Hister" nor "obtenditur" (for "ostenditur"), and introduces a number of words not found in Isidore or Solinus.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Et quoniam oceanus habet insulas, quas Britanniam et Hiberniam uocant, quae in auersa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniae sitae sunt, breuiter explicabuntur. Britannia oceani insula per longum in boream extenditur; a meridie Gallias habet, I. 2. 75–76.	Insulae dictae quod in salo sint, id est in mari. Ex his quoque notissimae et maximae, quas plurimi veterum sollerti studio indagaverunt, notandae sunt. Brittania Oceani insula interfuso mari toto orbe divisa, a vocabulo suae gentis cognominata. Haec adversa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniae sita est, XIV. 6. 1–2.

It hardly needs any proof that Isidore's statement is original, as introducing the general subject of islands. Pseudo-Orosius took this for his introduction to Britain

and Ireland, producing a Latinity which was impossible in the fifth century.

Orosius.

Tingitana Mauretania ultima est Africae. haec habet ab oriente flumen Maluam, a septentrione mare Nostrum usque ad fretum Gaditanum quod inter Auenae et Calpes duo contraria sibi promunturia coartatur, ab occidente Athlantem montem et oceanum Athlanticum, sub Africo Hesperium montem, a meridie gentes Autololum, quas nunc Galaules uocant, usque ad oceanum Hesperium contingentes, I. 2. 94.

Isidore.

Mauretania Tingitania a Tingi metropolitana huius provinciae civitate vocata est. Haec ultima Africae exsurgit a montibus septem, habens ab oriente flumen Malvam, a septentrione fretum Gaditanum, ab occiduo Oceanum Athlanticum, a meridie Gaulalum gentes usque ad Oceanum Hesperium pererrantes, XIV. 5. 12.

The *Gaulales* is a blunder in Isidore for *Autololes*. Solinus says, "Ab hoc per *Autolorum* (*Auctolorum*, *rutulorum*) gentem iter est in Atlanticas solitudines" (XXIV. 7). Pliny has "*Autololum* (*Autolorum*) gente, per quam iter est ad montem Africae vel fabulosissimum Atlantem" (V. 5), "*Autoteles* (*Autololes*, *Autolales*)" (V. 9), "gentes in ea (Tingitana provincia) . . . multoque validissimi *Autololes* (*Autolales*, *Autolodes*)" (V. 17), "*Autololum* (*Autololiam*, *Antholiam*)" (VI. 201). It is clear that the *Autololes* were a nation on the western coast of Africa, beyond the Strait of Gibraltar. The multiplicity of spelling led to a nation *Galaulas*, not further defined, in Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, 808. Apparently from there Isidore got the form *Galaulas* or *Gaulales*, as he wrote it. But Isidore committed the blunder of deriving the name from the island of *Gauloe*, south of Sicily: "*Gaulalum* gentes sunt a meridie usque Oceanum Hesperium pervagantes. his nomen Gauloe insula dedit" (IX. 2. 124). Having identified the *Autololes* with a nation south of Sicily, he was obliged to make them *roam* up to the Atlantic ocean, in order to get them in the location where they are unanimously mentioned as

settled, and not as roaming. Pseudo-Orosius, who had Solinus and Pliny at hand, corrected *Gaulales* to *Autololes*, but absurdly added that now they are called *Gaulales*, which is quite untrue, and forgot to delete the unfortunate phrase, "who roam as far as the Hisperic Ocean," thus giving himself away completely.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Ninus rex Assyriorum 'primus' ut ipsi uolunt propagandae dominationis libidine arma foras extulit cruentamque uitam quinquaginta annis per totam Asiam bellis egit, I. 4. 1.	Primus bella intulit Ninus Assyriorum rex. Ipse enim finibus suis nequaquam contentus, humanae societatis foedus inrumpens exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, liberos populos aut trucidare aut subicere coepit, universamque Asiam usque ad Libyae fines nova servitute perdomuit, XVIII. 1. 1.

That Isidore did not quote from Orosius is proved by "usque ad Libyae fines nova servitute perdomuit," which is taken directly from Justin, I. 1. 5, "terminos usque Libyae perdomuit." That Pseudo-Orosius, besides quoting Justin, had Isidore before him, is proved by *per totam Asiam*, which is not in Justin, but appears in Isidore as *universamque Asiam*.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Sciendum tamen est maxime, ipsam esse Spartam quam et Lacedaemonam ciuitatem, atque inde Lacedaemonios Spartanos dici, I. 21. 12.	Lacedaemonia condita a Lacedaemone Semelae filio. Sparta ab Sparto filio Phoronei vocata, qui fuit filius Inachi. Ipsam autem esse Spartam quam et Lacedaemoniam civitatem, atque inde Lacedaemonios Spartanos dici, XV. 1. 47.

Isidore did not take the passage out of Orosius, because it was conditioned by the two previous etymologies for *Lacedaemonia* and *Sparta*, both taken out of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Hieronymus. Justin speaks indiscriminately of the Spartans and Lacedaemonians, taking it for granted that anyone would know the

identity of the terms. Pseudo-Orosius cribbed the passage, which is here out of place, from the etymologies given by Isidore.

Orosius.	Isidore.
Urbem nominis sui Romanorum regum uel primus uel solus instituit. quae sola expers idolorum ad hoc breuissimo tempore condita a Christiano imperatore prouecta est, ut sola Romae, tot saeculis miseriisque prouectae, forma et potentia merito possit aequari, VII. 28. 27.	Constantinopolim urbem Thraciae Constantinus ex nomine suo instituit, solam Romae meritis et potentia adaequatam. Hanc conditam primum a Pausania rege Spartanorum, et vocatam Byzantium, vel quod tantum patet inter Adriaticum mare et Propontidem, vel quod sit receptaculum terrae marisque copiis. Unde et eam Constantinus aptissimam condere iudicavit, ut et receptaculum sibi terra marique fieret, XV. 1. 42.

Misled by "*solam* . . adaequatam" and "conditam *primum*" of Isidore, Pseudo-Orosius wrote the absurd sentence, "Romanorum regum uel primus uel solus instituit;" then, paraphrasing St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, V. 25, "cui etiam condere ciuitatem Romano imperio sociam, uelut ipsius Romae filiam, sed sine aliquo daemonum templo simulacroque concessit," he wrote, "quae sola expers idolorum." Pseudo-Orosius forgot that he had already given a description of Constantinople, which is correct, and does not contain the absurd statement that it alone had no idols. He wrote in III. 13. 1, 2: "Byzantium, nobilem ciuitatem, aptissimam iudicauit, ut receptaculum sibi terra marique fieret, eamque obsistentem ilico obsidione cinxit. haec autem Byzantium quondam a Pausania rege Spartanorum condita, post autem a Constantino Christiano principe in maius aucta et Constantinopolis dicta, gloriosissimi nunc imperii sedes et totius caput Orientis est." The extremely stupid

way in which Pseudo-Orosius pasted together passages from Isidore and Justin is well illustrated in this passage: Isidore took from Justin as much as he needed for the description of Constantinople, but Justin has nothing whatsoever to say about Constantine. He is talking of King Philip: "ad cuius emolumentum egregie pertinere ratus, si Byzantium, nobilem et maritimam urbem, receptaculum terra marique copiis suis futurum, in potestatem redegisset; eamdem claudentem sibi portas obsidione cinxit. Haec namque urbs condita primo a Pausania, rege Spartanorum, et per septem annos possessa fuit" (IX. 1). Isidore quite sensibly took from Justin what could be used in the description of Constantinople. He assumed that Byzantium was built in a spot where it could hold a large fleet, even as Justin said, "receptaculum terra marique." Hence he went on to say that Constantine wanted similarly to make this city "receptaculum *sibi* terra marique," a port for *himself*. Out of this and of Justin Pseudo-Orosius got the phrase, "receptaculum sibi terra marique fieret," which in Isidore refers to Constantine and not to Philip. Then Pseudo-Orosius went on to talk of the city as increased by Constantine, later, in VII. 28. 27, to make Constantine the founder of the city, if the phrase, "urbem nominis sui Romanorum regum uel primus uel solus instituit," means anything at all. As a matter of fact, this extremely awkward sentence is taken out of Eutropius, X. 8, "primusque urbem nominis sui ad tantum fastigium evehere molitus est, ut Romae aemulam faceret," where it has a perfectly sensible meaning. It is obvious that Isidore took nothing whatsoever out of Eutropius, and could have made nothing out of Orosius, if such had existed. Isidore got everything he needed out of Justin, while Pseudo-Orosius tried to improve Isidore

with passages from Justin, Eutropius, and St. Augustine.

Orosius.

Praeterea Athanaricus rex Gothorum Christianos in gente sua crudelissime persecutus, plurimos barbarorum ob fidem interfectos ad coronam martyrii sublimauit, quorum tamen plurimi in Romanum solum non trepidi, uelut ad hostes, sed certi, quia ad fratres, pro Christi confessione fugerunt, VII. 32. 9.

Isidore, *Historia Gothorum*, 6.

Gothorum gentis administrationem suscepit Athanaricus, regnans annos XIII, qui persecutionem crudelissimam adversus fidem commotam voluit exercere contra Gothos, qui in gente sua Christiani habebantur ex quibus plerique, quia idolis immolare non adquieverunt, martyrio coronati sunt: reliqui autem coacti sunt de regno suo exire et in Romanam transire regionem, *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 269 f.

That Isidore quoted directly from Jerome's *Chronicon*, "Athanaricus rex Gothorum, in Christianos persecutione commota, plurimos interfecit, et de propriis sedibus in Romanum solum expellit," is proved by *persecutionem crudelissimam adversus fidem commotam*, which is based on *persecutione commota* of Jerome; while Pseudo-Orosius, on account of *crudelissime* and *ob fidem*, could have borrowed only indirectly through Isidore.

Orosius.

Urbem Constantinopolim uictor intrauit et ne paruam ipsam Romani exercitus manum adsidue bellando detereret, foedus cum Athanarico Gothorum rege percussit. Athanaricus autem continuo ut Constantinopolim uenit, diem obiit. uniuersae Gothorum gentes defuncto aspicientes uirtutem benignitatemque Theodosii Romano sese imperio dediderunt, VII. 34. 6–7.

Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 11.

Athanaricus cum Theodosio ius amicitiamque disponens mox Constantinopolim pergit ibique quintodecimo die quam fuerat a Theodosio honorabiliter susceptus, interiit. Gothi autem proprio rege defuncto adspicientes benignitatem Theodosi imperatoris inito foedere Romano se imperio tradiderunt, *ibid.*, p. 272.

Isidore's account is based on Hydatius, chap. 6, "Aithanaricus rex Gothorum aput Constantinopolim XV die, ex quo a Theodosio fuerat susceptus, interiit," and Marcellini Comitis *Chronicon*, sub 381, "Atha-

naricus rex Gothorum, cum quo Theodosius imperator foedus pepigerat, Constantinopolim 'mense Ianuario' venit 'eodemque mense' morbo periit," sub 382, "Eodem anno universa gens Gothorum Athanarico rege suo defuncto Romano sese imperio dedit 'mense Octobrio.'" Isidore could not possibly have derived from Orosius "quintodecimo die," etc., which is not there, but in Hydatius; hence only the reverse process of a borrowing from Isidore is possible.

Orosius.

Gothi antea per legatos supplices poposcerunt, ut illis episcopi, a quibus regulam Christianae fidei discerent, mitterentur. Valens imperator exitiabili prauitate doctores Arriani dogmatis misit. Gothi primae fidei rudimento quod accepere tenuerunt. itaque iusto iudicio Dei ipsi eum uiuum incenderunt, qui propter eum etiam mortui uitio erroris arsuri sunt, VII. 33. 19.

Isidore, *Hist. Goth.*, 7–9.

Gothi in Istrium adversus semet ipsos in Athanarico et Fridigerno divisi sunt, alternis sese caedibus populantes. sed Athanaricus Fridigernum Valentis imperatoris suffragio superans huius rei gratia legatos cum muneribus ad eundem imperatorem mittit et doctores propter suscipiendam Christianae fidei regulam poscit. Valens autem a veritate catholicae fidei devius et Arrianae haeresis perversitate detentus missis haereticis sacerdotibus Gothos persuasione nefanda sui erroris dogmati adgregavit et in tam praeclaram gentem virus pestiferum semine pernicioso transfudit sicque errorem, quem recens credulitas ebibit, tenuit diuque servavit. Tunc Gulfilas eorum episcopus Gothicas litteras condidit et scripturas novi ac veteris testamenti in eandem linguam convertit. Gothi autem, statim ut litteras et legem habere coeperunt, construxerunt sibi dogmatis sui ecclesias, talia iuxta eundem Arrium de ipsa divinitate documenta tenentes, ut crederent filium patri maiestate esse minorem, aeternitate posteriorem, spiritum autem sanctum neque deum esse neque ex substantia patris existere, sed per filium creatum esse, utriusque ministerio deditum et amborum obsequio subditum. aliam quoque patris sicut personam, sic et naturam adserentes, aliam filii, aliam denique spiritus sancti, ut iam non secundum sanctae scripturae traditionem unus deus et dominus coleretur, sed iuxta idolatriae superstitionem tres dei venerarentur. cuius blasphemiae malum per discessum temporum regumque successum annis CCXIII tenuerunt. qui tandem reminiscentes salutis suae renuntiaverunt inolitae perfidiae et Christi gratia ad unitatem fidei catholicae pervenerunt.

> Aera CCCCXVI, anno XIIII imperii Valentis Gothi, qui primum Christianos a 'sedibus suis' expulerant, rursus ipsi ab Hunis 'cum rege suo Athanarico' expulsi sunt transitoque Danuvio Valentis imperatoris potestati sese non depositis armis tradunt 'Thraciam ad inhabitandum accipiunt.' sed ubi viderunt se opprimi a Romanis contra consuetudinem propriae libertatis, 'ad rebellandum coacti sunt:' Thraciam ferro incendiisque depopulantur deletoque Romanorum exercitu ipsum Valentem iaculo vulneratum in quandam villam fugientem succendunt, ut merito ipse ab eis vivens temporali cremaretur incendio, qui tam pulchras animas ignibus aeternis tradiderat, *ibid.*, p. 270 f.

The account in Isidore is an elaboration of 349 and 350 of Isidore's *Chronica:* "Gothi apud Strium bifarie in Fridigerno et Atarico divisi sunt, sed Fridigernus Ataricum Valentis auxilio superans huius beneficii gratia ex catholico Arrianus cum omni gente Gothorum effectus est. Tunc Gulfilas eorum episcopus Gothicas litteras repperit et utrumque testamentum in linguam propriam transtulit." There is, however, something exceedingly queer about these passages in the *Chronica.* They are taken out of the *Historia tripartita* (VIII. 13), ascribed to Cassiodorus. Now the reference to Ulfilas is absent from manuscripts BPSVW, that is, from the best ninth and tenth century manuscripts of the enlarged edition, although it is found in all of the abbreviated manuscripts, even of the eighth century. The item 349, which is also from the *Historia tripartita,* is also absent from BPSVW, where, instead, we have, "Gothi suadente Valente haeretici efficiuntur." More strangely still, V has no quotations from the *Historia tripartita* at all, Nos. 337, 347, 349, 350, 351, 360, 366, 379 being marked as "omitted," while, apparently by oversight, No. 345 is not mentioned as "omitted," but does not occur in the notes and so is certainly absent. There is only one conclusion possible from this extraordinary fact, namely,

that V represents an earlier, possibly the earliest, text of Isidore's *Chronica*, in which the *Historia tripartita* was not quoted; also, that there was an intermediate text, in which the *Historia tripartita* was quoted, but the Ulfilas passage was still absent. Of the *Historia Gothorum* no manuscript of an earlier date than the ninth century has come down to us. It is clear that it contains interpolations from the enlarged *Chronica*, after the passages from the *Historia tripartita* were added to it. Pseudo-Orosius, however, must have had before him a *Historia Gothorum*, which quoted passages from the *Historia tripartita*, but not the one about Ulfilas, for most likely he would have given it, if it had been in his copy. In any case, it is clear that Pseudo-Orosius either misunderstood or purposely corrupted Isidore, for Isidore states that the Goths were made Arians by Valens, that the Goths became Arians only after they had their own written language, that the Goths remained Arians for 213 years, and at last became Catholics. Then follows the story of the just burning of Valens. Out of the whole story Pseudo-Orosius got the short account that Valens sent Arian bishops, that the Goths held to the rudiments of the first faith which they received, and that Valens was justly punished. *Gothi primae fidei rudimento quod accepere tenuerunt* either means that they remained Catholics, or, having become Arian, remained Arians. In either case, it is an impossible sentence. If it means the first, which it should, if Pseudo-Orosius did not forget that he already mentioned Gothic Catholics under Athanaric, then the Goths did not become Arians, which is contrary to fact and the statement that the Goths would burn in hell. If it means the second, then the statement as to Athanaric, in VII. 32. 9, is wrong, for the first faith they received was from the Catholics. But it is clear that Pseudo-

Orosius merely botched matters, taking *tenuerunt* from Isidore's statement of their having held the Arian dogma for 213 years, and, changing Isidore's "ad unitatem fidei catholicae pervenerunt" to "a quibus regulam Christianae fidei discerent," produced an impossible farrago.

We now have the difficult task of explaining how Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* got mentioned in works presumably of the fifth and sixth centuries. Zangemeister mentions one manuscript of Orosius, the *Laurentianus* (*L*), which they claim to be of the sixth century, because of its being written in uncials. But uncial manuscripts cannot be dated by the script alone, and the *Laurentianus* is by no means a good copy, as far as the text goes. At the end of Book V there is the following notice: "Confectus codex in statione magistri uiliaric antiquarii ora pro me scribtore sic dn̄m habeas protectorem." Thus we see that a Goth was the copyist. There can be little doubt that it was a Spanish Goth of the eighth century, one of those who used the title *Ormista* for the book.

We can pursue the interpolations about Orosius step by step. We first find one in the *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*:[1] "item Orosium virum eruditissimum conlaudamus, quia valde necessarium nobis adversus paganorum calumnias ordinavit historiam miraque brevitate contexuit."[2] But the *Decretum Gelasianum* is a well-known forgery, of which the oldest manuscript is of the eighth century.[3] The same statement, taken out of the *Decretum*, is found in Pseudo-Isidore's *De numeris*,[4] the oldest manuscript of which is also of the eighth century.

[1] E. von Dobschütz, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Dritte Reihe, vol. VIII, part 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

The strange thing is that "one would have expected, in connection with the preceding titles, not the mention of the *Historiae*, but his apologetic writings;"[1] but it was the school of forgers that forced Orosius into the *Decretum* and into Pseudo-Isidore. In the real Isidore the name of Orosius does not occur.

Gennadius' *De viris inlustribus* has a whole chapter (XL) on Orosius.[2] The oldest manuscript is A, *Codex Parisinus B. N. Lat. 12161*, a palimpsest, supposedly of the seventh century.[3] The lower writing, where Gennadius is found, has the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Leges Visigothorum*, and hence is of Spanish origin. Another old manuscript is T, *Codex Vaticanus Regin. Lat. 2077*, supposedly of the sixth or seventh century.[4] Now the superscript of A is in Merovingian cursive, "of the end of the seventh century,"[5] that is, it may as well be of the beginning of the eighth century. The story is clear: a Spanish Goth, no longer having any use for the *Leges Visigothorum* on French territory, wrote out the more interesting Gennadius, introducing Orosius into Gennadius. But Gennadius has admittedly come down to us inter-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[2] "Orosius presbyter Hispani generis, vir eloquens et historiarum cognitor, scripsit *Adversus quaerulos Christiani nominis*, qui dicunt defectum Romanae reipublicae Christi doctrina invectum libros septem, in quibus totius paene mundi temporis calamitates et miserias ac bellorum inquietudines replicans, ostendit magis Christianae observantiae esse, quod contra meritum suum res Romana adhuc duraret et pace culturae Dei pacatum teneret imperium. Sane in primo libro descripsit positionem orbis Oceani interfusione et Tanais limitibus intercisam, situm locorum, nomina et numerum moresque gentium, qualitates regionum, initia bellorum et tyrannidis exordia finitimorum sanguine dedicata. Hic est Orosius, qui ab Augustino pro discenda animae ratione ad Hieronymum missus, rediens reliquias beati Stephani, primi martyris, tunc nuper inventas, primus intulit Occidenti. Claruit extremo Honorii paene imperatoris tempore," E. C. Richardson, *Gennadius, Liber de viris inlustribus*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. XIV, p. 76.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. XII.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

[5] *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vol. VII, p. 719.

polated, hence a number of chapters have been bracketed;[1] and the information about Orosius is unusually meager.[2] There is no choice in the matter; the chapter on Orosius is an interpolation, like so many other chapters. Manuscript T need not trouble us, as the superscription is in uncials, of which naturally the date must be established on internal evidence alone.

A paraphrase from Gennadius on Orosius is found in *Marcellini Comitis Chronicon*, under the year 416.[3] It is generally assumed that this Chronicle was written in the middle of the sixth century. The palaeographic proof is based on manuscript T, supposedly of the sixth century.[4] Fortunately we have a reproduction of this manuscript.[5] A glance at it shows that it cannot be earlier than of the eighth century, on account of the use of long *i* in the uncials. On the historical side, the proof is based on the fact that it quotes Orosius profusely. If, indeed, Marcellinus quotes Orosius, and not *vice versa*, Marcellinus cannot be earlier than the end of the seventh or of the eighth century. Marcellinus is generally unknown in the Middle Ages.[6] He is apparently excerpted by Jordanes, but Jordanes is an eighth century forgery. The citations in Bede are too late to be of any use; besides, Bede has come down to us in interpolated editions of the end of the eighth century.[7] Similarly, the quotations in Paulus Diaconus are of no avail. There is reference to Marcellinus in Cassiodorus'

[1] B. Czapla, *Gennadius als Litterarhistoriker*, Münster i. W. 1898, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87 ff.
[3] "Orosius presbyter Hispani generis septem libros historiarum descripsit. missus ab Augustino episcopo idem Orosius pro discenda animae ratione ad Hieronymum presbyterum reliquias beati Stephani tunc nuper inventas rediens primus intulit Occidenti," *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 73.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[5] *Ibid.*, after p. 506.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[7] In a future work I shall prove this by documentary evidence.

De institutione, chapters XVII and XXV, but this work, to say the least, is full of interpolations. In this *Chronicon* there are quotations from the expanded Gennadius, which, as I have shown, is of a late date.

Orosius, in a quotation from Gennadius, is also mentioned in the *Chronicon* of Prosper of Aquitaine, but as this also contains interpolations from Paulus Diaconus, the date of the Orosius interpolation cannot be ascertained from it. That he was not in the original Prosper is proved by the fact that a large number of items from Prosper have found their way into Isidore's *Chronica*, such as references to Priscillianus, Martin of Tours, St. Jerome, John the Anchorite, St. Augustine, Theophilus of Alexandria, Pelagius, Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius; but of Orosius, the Spanish historian, whom he should have mentioned above all, there is nowhere a trace to be found in Isidore.

We can now approach the interpolations and forgeries connected with Cassiodorus, at least such as refer to the *Historia tripartita* and the *De institutione*. Of neither have we any early texts, the manuscripts of the latter not remounting above the twelfth century, and of the first not much farther back.

In the Preface of the *Historia tripartita*[1] we are informed that Cassiodorus read Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus and found that there was too much material in them, also that by the aid of Epiphanius Scholasticus he reduced the three to one work.[2] This

[1] I quote from Garet's edition of Cassiodorus, Rotomagi 1679.

[2] "Haec igitur historia Ecclesiastica, quae cunctis Christianis valde necessaria comprobatur, a tribus Graecis auctoribus mirabiliter constat esse conscripta; uno scilicet Theodoreto, venerabili Episcopo, et duobus disertissimis viris, Sozomeno, et Socrate; quos nos per Epiphanium Scholasticum Latino condentes eloquio, necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum, Domino juvante, perducere, et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem. Sciendum plane, quod praedicti scriptores a temporibus divae memoriae Principis Constantini usque ad augustae recordationis Theodosii junioris, quae sunt gesta, digesserint. Nos autem

is contradicted by the statement in *De institutione divinarum literarum* that he ordered Epiphanius to translate the works and bring them together into one volume.[1] It is now generally admitted that Cassiodorus could not have written such horrible Latinity and have committed the many blunders contained in the *Historia tripartita*, and that Epiphanius Scholasticus must be guilty of the atrocious translation, Cassiodorus being merely responsible for its edition.[2] But it is inconceivable that Cassiodorus, with his limpid style, could have fathered a work which Beatus Rhenanus calls a *perversion*, not a *version*.[3] Curiously enough, in *De orthographia*, where Cassiodorus gives a list of all the books written by him, there is no reference to the *Historia tripartita*, although *De institutione* is mentioned. Worse still, a *Historia tripartita*, composed from the same three ecclesiastic writers in Greek by Theodorus the Reader in the beginning of the sixth century, was already in existence,[4] and it is quite impossible that Cassiodorus would have claimed to be the first to have such a work done, the more so, since Cassiodorus translates verbatim and most shamelessly up to chapter 7 of Book II from Theodorus' *Tripartita*. Only after that does the Latin *Tripartita* begin to differ from Theodorus, and "it would take a monograph to enumerate and de-

eorum relectis operibus, et unumquemque cauta mente tractantes, cognovimus, non aequaliter omnes de unaquaque re luculenter ac subtiliter explanasse: sed modo hunc, modo alterum aliam partem melius expediisse. Et ideo judicavimus de singulis doctoribus deflorata colligere, et cum auctoris sui nomine in ordinem collocare," *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 203.

[1] "Post historiam vero Eusebii apud Graecos Socrates, Sozomenus, et Theodoretus sequentia conscripserunt, quos a viro disertissimo Epiphanio in uno corpore duodecim libris fecimus, Deo auxiliante, transferri: ne insultet se habere facunda Graecia necessarium, quod nobis judicet esse subtractum," chap. XVII, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 550.

[2] A. Franz, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, Breslau 1872, p. 106 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[4] J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Dritte Reihe, vol. II, part 2 b.

scribe the varieties of nonsense committed by him."[1]

When we consider that there is no evidence that Isidore knew of the existence of the *Tripartita* of Cassiodorus, which is first mentioned only in Sigebert of Gemblaux, and observe the decadent and faulty Latinity of the translation, we are forced to the conclusion that it cannot be of any earlier date than the eighth century, when it appears in extracts in all of Isidore's *Chronica* but one, and in the *Historia Gothorum* only in the passage in which Ulfilas is mentioned, that is, in 7 and 8. It is even doubtful whether the Ulfilas episode existed in Greek in Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus, until introduced there synoptically from an eighth century interpolation of the *Tripartite History* of Theodorus the Reader. The total silence of all but the synoptic writers, and also of John Chrysostom, who, if anybody, should have known about Ulfilas, is a potent reason for such an assumption. What is remarkable is that the reference to Ulfilas having been present at Ariminum, as given in Socrates, is found in a detached form and ascribed to Theodorus the Reader,[2] although it apparently was absent from at least some of the manuscripts of his *Historia tripartita.*

Orosius is several times mentioned in Gregory of Tours. Cointe has long ago pointed out that there were interpolations in Gregory of Tours, but Arndt and Krusch think that Cointe's theory has been exploded, because we possess uncial manuscripts of Gregory's works.[3] This is the weak point in the reply, since it must now be accepted as settled that no uncial manuscript can be dated on the basis of its script. The Orosius passages all sound like interpolations. After the statement that Eusebius and Jerome

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[2] Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, vol. LXXXVI, col. 225 ff.
[3] *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. I[1], p. 17 ff.

had written chronicles, comes the limping sentence, "Nam et Horosius diligentissime haec inquaerens, omnem numerum annorum ab initio mundi usque ad suum tempus in unum colligit" (Prol. I).[1] Similarly, after the mention of Babylon, comes an Orosius passage, again beginning with the tell-tale *et*: "*Et*, sicut Horosi narrat historia" (I. 6).[2] Another queer sentence is "Hucusque Hieronymus, ab hoc vero tempore Horosius presbyter plus scripsit" (I. 41).[3] The same tell-tale *et* (this time as *atque*) is found in "Sic et Eusebius, Severus Hieronimusque in chronicis *atque* Horosius et bella regum et virtutes martyrum pariter texuerunt" (Prol. II).[4] The same tail end addition is found in II. 9, where, after all the sources have been given, we get: "Haec hi de Francis dixire. Horosius autem et ipse historiograffus in septimo operis sui libro ita commemorat: Stilico, congregatis gentibus, Francos proteret, Rhenum transit, Gallias pervagatur et ad Pyrenius usque perlabitur."[5]

In this case we can study the progress of the forgeries. The same passage is found in Isidore's *Historia Vandalorum*, 71, where we have correctly: "transiecto Rheno Gallias inruunt, Francos proterunt directoque impetu ad Pyrenaeum usque perveniunt."[6] Orosius puts the cart before the horse and makes them destroy the Franks, then cross the Rhine, etc.[7] In the continuation of this passage in Orosius we have a good illustration of Pseudo-Orosius' idiotic expansions. Isidore says simply and directly: "sed postquam iidem fratres, qui privato praesidio Pyrenaei claustra tue-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36. The same passage, but in full, is also found in *De cursu stellarum ratio, ibid.*, p. 858.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[6] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 295.
[7] VII. 40. 3.

bantur, ob suspicionem tyrannidis insontes et nulla culpa obnoxii a Constantio Caesare interfecti sunt." Out of this we get in Pseudo-Orosius: "duo fratres iuuenes nobiles et locupletes Didymus et Verinianus non assumere aduersus tyrannum quidem tyrannidem sed imperatori iusto aduersus tyrannum et barbaros tueri sese patriamque suam moliti sunt." Then comes a discussion in impossible Latinity on what "tyrannis" is, and ultimately "absque cuiusquam inquietudine ad Pyrenaei claustra tendebant," etc. It is clear that Pseudo-Orosius is an elaboration of Isidore, and not *vice versa*.

In the Prologue of Book V of Gregory of Tours we have a long reference to Orosius, but it is chiefly the Prologues that Cointe considered as interpolated. There is also an added note to Orosius in Gregory's *Liber de virtutibus S. Iuliani*.[1]

The passage in his *Liber de gloria confessorum*, "Iubet, inquid, fieri, ex annonis aqua infusis atque decoctis messoribus poculum praeparavi, *hanc enim coctionem Orosius a coquendo caeliam vocari narravit*,"[2] gives us a good chance to study the devious ways of Pseudo-Orosius.

Speaking of the Numantians, Pseudo-Orosius says, "larga prius potione usi non uini, cuius ferax is locus non est, sed suco tritici per artem confecto, quem sucum a calefaciendo caeliam uocant,—suscitatur enim igne illa uis germinis madefactae frugis ac deinde siccatur et post in farinam redacta molli suco admiscetur, quo fermento sapor austeritatis et calor ebrietatis adicitur."[3] The story of the Numantians going to battle after filling themselves with food and all, is told in Florus' *Epitoma*, II. 18. 12, where we have "caeliae, sic vocant indigenam ex frumento potionem."

[1] *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. I², p. 568.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 748.
[3] V. 7. 13–14.

Isidore has no such story, but, after discussing all kinds of wines, he gives etymologies for *cervisia* and *caelia:* "Cervisia a Cerere, id est fruge vocata; est enim potio ex seminibus frumenti vario modo confecta. Caelia a calefaciendo appellata; est enim potio ex suco tritici per artem confecta. Suscitatur enim igne illa vis germinis madefactae frugis ac deinde siccatur et post in farinam redacta molli suco admiscitur, quo fermentato sapor austeritatis et calor ebrietatis adicitur. Quae fit in his partibus Hispaniae cuius ferax vini locus non est."[1] Isidore derived *cervisia* from "Ceres," and, with as much justice, *caelia* from "calefacere." Pseudo-Orosius never gives etymologies, and, considering the enormous mass of etymologies of Isidore's own invention, it is absurd to assume that he would have gone out of his way to find a description and etymology for *caelia.* We might as well look in Orosius for Isidore's etymology for *sicera*, which precedes it, and where we find the sentence, "ex suco frumenti vel pomorum conficiatur," which gave him the parallel sentence, "ex suco tritici per artem confecta." Thus it is seen that we have in Gregory of Tours a late interpolation.

It is easy to understand how the story about Ulfilas may have made its way into the synoptics and the *Historia tripartita.* At a time when there was a revival of Greek interest in the Goths, which was when they once more appeared in the eighth century, this time as Catholics, in Ravenna and in Greek territory in general, stories of their Catholic ardor, such as the burning of the Goths in the church, found their way back into Greek synaxaries. The same interest brought out the question, never insisted upon at the time of their conversion, as to why they had become Arians.

[1] XX. 3. 17–18.

The *Historia tripartita*, in its tenth book, chapters 5 and 6, has an account of Gaina, the barbarian leader of Roman foederati and rebels about the year 400. Chapter 5 has the title, "De conversione Celticorum per Joannem," and claims to be a translation or extract from Theodoretus, V. 30. Similarly, chapter 6 bears the title, "De Gaina magistro militum ejusque rebellione," and claims to be based on Theodoretus, V. 32, 33 and Socrates, VI. 6. We are told that the Celts had become Arian, and that John Chrysostom, to bring them back to Catholicism, ordained presbyters, deacons, and lectors who knew their language. That the translator confused the Scythians with the Celts, is evident from his frequently using "Scythians" instead of "Celts" in the same fifth chapter. Gaina, a Celt, that is, a Scythian, was then "magister militum," who had not only men of his own race under him, but also Romans. He asked the emperor to give him an Arian church in the city. John Chrysostom, who was called in, declined to give him a church, saying, among other things, "See what garment you used before you crossed the Ister, and what garment you use now." Gaina plotted against the emperor and sent his barbarians to burn the palace, which was saved by a host of angels appearing as soldiers. He went to Thrace. There he collected a band of soldiers against Constantinople. John Chrysostom was sent to him and succeeded in assuaging him.

We have precisely the same account in Theodoretus, but the caption of chapter 30 is "*περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Γότθων*," instead of "De conversione Celticorum." It is inconceivable that the Latin translator of the passage would have omitted to state that the Scythians were Goths, if he had found such a caption. Nor would Theodoretus consistently have used *Σκύθης*, if he had the slightest idea that Gaina was a Goth. Gaina is

mentioned in the excerpts from Eunapius, but not as a Goth.[1] Zosimus, who wrote some time in the fifth or sixth century, says that Gaina and Saul were placed in charge of the barbarians, and that with them was associated Bacurius, an Armenian.[2] Gaina was sent by Eutropius, the eunuch, to Thrace and the Hellespont, to fight Tribigildus. Later Gaina rebelled against the empire and went back to wage war against the city.[3] More than seven thousand barbarians were caught in the city, and they retired to a church, hoping to get there an asylum. No one dared to drag them out of the asylum, for fear the barbarians would defend themselves. Hence it was decided to destroy the roof and to throw burning fagots down on the barbarians. Thus they were killed. But the Christians thought that a great crime had thus been committed.[4]

Zosimus does not call Gaina a Goth, and Theodoretus calls him a Scythian, and his people *Σκυθικὸς ὅμιλος*, a Scythian crowd. While a Goth was a Scythian, it appears from all the writers of the time, a Scythian was not identical with a Goth. Thus, for example, Zosimus speaks of the Scythians, who, uniting with the Heruli, Peuci, and Goths, made an invasion in the Pontus.[5] He justly calls Athanaric the chief of the Scythian region,[6] because there were, no doubt, others than Goths under his dominion. Photius, in his résumé of Philostorgius, refers to Gaina as a barbarian, while Tribigildus, with whom he was associated, is referred to as a Scythian, of those called Goths (for there are many different tribes of Scyth-

[1] *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, vol. XIII, pp. 91, 92, 103, 117.
[2] IV. 57, *ibid.*, vol. XXIX, p. 242.
[3] V. 18, *ibid.*, p. 270.
[4] V. 19, *ibid.*, p. 272 f.
[5] I. 42.
[6] «'Αθανάριχόν τε παντὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκυθῶν ἄρχοντα,» IV. 34.

ians).[1] Philostorgius tells of the massacre of Gaina's soldiers, but of the burning of the church there is not a trace.[2]

The story about burning the Goths in the church, as given by Zosimus, is obviously a later interpolation. It is quite improbable that the right of asylum should have been so flagrantly violated, without a word of it occurring in contemporary writers or in Theodoretus. Besides, the story in Zosimus is in conflict with what precedes and follows. Zosimus says that when Gaina appeared before the gates of Constantinople, the Greeks killed the barbarians in the city with swords, stones, or anything they could lay their hands on, then withdrew within the walls and by hurling weapons on Gaina and his soldiers without, averted the calamity. Gaina, having failed in his attempt, now became an open enemy to the state. Just before talking of Gaina's failure and after having mentioned that the barbarians had been killed, we get the gruesome and impossible story that more than seven thousand barbarians took refuge in a church, where they were burnt. The story is incredible, because it is unlikely that a church holding seven thousand people, even closely packed, existed in Constantinople.

Indeed, Philostorgius, who would have reveled in telling of such an act of cruelty against the Arians, has not a word to say about it. Theodoretus does not know a thing about it. Neither the *Historia tripartita*, with Theodoretus, Socrates, and Sozomenus, nor the Greek *Tripartita*, before the translator, knows of it. Marcellinus, apparently quoting Zosimus, says that the barbarians rushed up to "our" church, where they were killed by stones being hurled upon them from

[1] «Ἀνὴρ Σκύθης μὲν γένος τῶν νῦν ἐπικαλουμένων Γότθων (πλεῖστα γὰρ καὶ διάφορα τούτων ἐστὶν τῶν Σκυθῶν γένη),» XI. 8, in J. Bidez, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, Leipzig 1913, p. 138.

[2] «Καὶ φόνος αὐτῶν ἐρρύη πολύς,» *ibid.*, p. 139.

the church through the dismantled roof;[1] that is, the whole story is reversed, the Greeks being, as well might be the case, within the church, and the barbarians without.

Neither Socrates nor Sozomenus has anything to say about the burning of Goths in the church. Socrates says that Gaina pretended to go to the church of the Apostle John, which was seven miles from the city. Many barbarians tried secretly to carry arms out of the city, and, being caught by the guards, killed the guards. Such of the barbarians as were in the city were ordered by the emperor to be killed. The barbarians fled to the church of the Goths. The church was burnt and many Goths were killed.[2] Precisely the same is told by Sozomenus, but whereas Socrates says that the church of Apostle John "*ἑπτὰ δὲ σημείοις ἀπέχει τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως*," Sozomenus says "*ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως πατὴρ ᾠκοδόμησε πρὸς τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ*."[3] Apparently the interpolator of Zosimus had before him a Latin translation of the story where "septem milibus" was used instead. He thought there were seven thousand men in the church, which he wrongly placed near the palace, and from the eighth century account of the burning of the Goths in the church at Cordoba and the Gaina rebellion arose the story of the burning of the Goths in the church in Constantinople in 400, as recorded in the *Chronicon Paschale*. Indeed, we are not certain that Gaina was a Goth, even though Socrates and Sozomenus say that he drew the Goths from his country to Constantinople.[4] These refer-

[1] "Gaina comes apud Constantinopolim ad praeparandum civile bellum barbaros suos occulte ammonet: ipse valitudinem simulans urbe digreditur. coepto adversum Byzantios proelio plurimi hostium cadunt, ceteri fugientes ecclesiae nostrae succedunt ibique detecto ecclesiae culmine iactisque desuper lapidibus obruuntur," *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 66.

[2] VI. 6.

[3] VIII. 4.

[4] «Καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας μετεπέμψατο», Socrates, VI. 6; «τοὺς ὁμοφύλους αὐτοῦ Γότθους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων εἰς Ῥωμαίους μετεπέμψατο,» Sozomenus, VIII. 4.

ences to Goths may have been made by Socrates and Sozomenus through a mistake, or they may be later interpolations, even as the reference to the Gothic church which was burnt sounds like an interpolation.

It is only in Socrates and Sozomenus that we have the specific reference to a Gothic church. If Gaina was a Goth, or even a Scythian of some undefined nationality, it is extremely curious that all authorities agree that he went to worship in a Greek church. It certainly indicates that at least there existed no sharp division between the churches of the Greeks and the barbarians. We have the specific statement that Gaina asked St. Chrysostom for a separate church, not because he was a Goth, but because he was an Arian, and that St. Chrysostom definitely declined to let him have a church.[1] Again, while in Theodoretus the heading to V. 30 is "*περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Γότθων*," the corresponding heading in the *Historia tripartita* is "De conversione Celticorum per Joannem." Whoever the author of the *Tripartita* was, he did not know anything about the Gothic church in Constantinople.

But John Chrysostom himself gives us all the necessary information on the subject. We learn from his eighth homily[2] that he was present in a church where there was some reading in a foreign language. Chrysostom says that the Bible was translated in Scythia, Thrace, Sarmatia, Mauretania, and India. It was he who told the barbarians to get up and speak in the church.[3] In the beginning of the homily Chrysostom says he wishes the Hellenes were present to hear,[4] and it is clear from what follows that he uses *Ἕλληνες* in the then usual sense of "ancient,

[1] Theodoretus, V. 32.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. XII, p. 512 ff.

[3] «Μὴ τοίνυν αἰσχύνην τις ἡγείσθω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι βαρβάρους εἰς μέσον ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν παρεσκευάσαμεν,» *ibid.*, p. 514.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 512.

pagan Greeks." It is, therefore, clear that the homily was addressed to the Greeks present, and that the reading in the foreign language was intended to captivate the foreigners present. In any case, we have not a distant reference to a Gothic church, and we are absolutely sure from Chrysostom's answer to Gaina that there was no Arian Gothic church in Constantinople in his time.

The heading of this homily reads as follows: "*Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμιλία λεχθεῖσα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Παύλου, Γότθων ἀναγνόντων, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου Γότθου προομιλήσαντος.*" There is no certainty that the foreign language was Gothic, and from the corroborative account of Theodoretus in V. 30 it appears that only barbarian presbyters, deacons, and readers were ordained by him in Constantinople, while he himself addressed them with the aid of interpreters. The heading was put in at a later time, when the Scythians, mentioned by Theodoretus, were identified with the Goths, who undoubtedly were then present in Constantinople, but had neither any representation by a bishop, nor any Arian Gothic church.

We can see in another place in the *Historia tripartita* and its antecedents how a Gothic tradition at a later time found its way into them. The *Historia tripartita* in IX. 40 quotes from Socrates, V. 22, 23, and 24, where we are told of the division in the Arian church at Constantinople, caused by Marinus, who insisted that God could be called Father, even if the Son did not exist. This sect was called *Psathyriani* or *of the Goths*, the first, because a Syrian vender of rolls favored it, the second, because Selenas, the bishop of the Goths, followed it. Selenas was of double birth, his father being a Goth, his mother, a Phrygian, therefore he taught both languages in the church. After twenty-five years the division of the Arians at Con-

stantinople was made up, but the sects continued to exist outside the city. The same account is given by Sozomenus, but we have the fuller statement that the Goths obeyed Selenas the more readily, since he was the amanuensis and successor of Ulfilas, their former bishop, and was particularly fit to teach them in the church, not only in their own language, but also in Greek.

As usual, there is absolutely nothing about it to be found in Theodoretus, but in his *Αἱρετικὴ κακομυθία* we have the story of a heretical sect of the Arians called Psythyriani at Antioch, who called God the Father, because the Son was always created by God. This is in total disagreement with Socrates and Sozomenus as to the creed of the sect and its habitat. It is clear that the original Socrates and Sozomenus had no story about the Psythyriani, any more than it is in Theodoretus' Ecclesiastical History. At a later time, before the Tripartite was made up, a Goth, drawing from an *Antiquitas*, put into Socrates and Sozomenus the incorrect story, and added the totally out of the way statement that Selenas spoke two languages, hence the Goths had particular faith in him, and became Psythyriani. No wonder that Philostorgius does not know anything about Psythyriani, Marinus, Selenas, or anything connected with the story. Indeed, we have already seen that there was no Arian Gothic bishop at Constantinople, and if Selenas was somewhere else, he was not in Gothia, where in 404 we find Unilas, and his knowledge of two languages could have had nothing whatsoever to do with the fabulous Psythyriani at Constantinople.

We can now investigate the presence of Ulfilas at the conciliabulum of Constantinople. As usual, Theodoretus knows knothing of Ulfilas.[1] Ten bishops were called to Constantinople, among them Eustathius of Armenia, Basil of Galatia, Silvanus of Tarsus,

[1] II. 23.

and Eleusius of Cyzicus. Socrates speaks of fifty bishops who were present, among them Maris of Chalcedon. After an account of the creed, there comes a recapitulation of the nine creeds, ending with the one adopted at Constantinople; and here we are informed that this was the creed signed by Ulfilas, bishop of the Goths, who, before that, following Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, had subscribed to the Nicene creed. Sozomenus begins at once by telling us that they called for the bishops from Bithynia, among whom were Maris of Chalcedon and Ulfilas, the bishop of the Goths. Philostorgius mentions Maris, Basil, Eustathius, Eudoxius, but has no reference to Ulfilas. As Sozomenus is generally made up from Socrates, we have here only one reference to Ulfilas, and that only in the recapitulation, where it is obviously the same kind of interpolation as we found in the passage mentioning Selenas.

This brings us now to the general passage on Ulfilas, found in the four writers. According to Socrates[1] and Sozomenus,[2] Ulfilas was the bishop of the Goths when they were still across the Danube, and petitioned Valens to allow his people to settle in Thrace. It was then that he became an Arian. In Theodoretus we have a totally different story. When Valens made his expedition into Scythia, the bishop of all of Scythia was Bretanio. He tried to dissuade Valens from the expedition and to bring him back to orthodoxy. But Valens paid no heed to him and made the attack. Being defeated, he fled to a village, where the barbarians burnt him alive in a house. "Thus he was punished in this life for his misdeeds."[3]

Everything, as usual in Theodoretus, is direct and plausible. The Scythians had only one bishop, and this

[1] IV. 33.
[2] VI. 37.
[3] IV. 31–32.

we know to be correct from a statement made by Sozomenus. The Scythians, as far as they were Christians, were Catholics. Valens received his just punishment, because of his Arianism. After this perfectly clear account we get in Theodoretus a chapter, the last in that book, which begins with the words: "I think it my duty to inform those who may not know how the barbarians were infected by the Arian pest." After the Goths had crossed the Danube, the infamous Eudoxius persuaded Valens to give the Goths his communion. Valens proposed this to the Gothic leaders, but they would not give up their paternal doctrine. Then Ulfilas, the Gothic bishop, was bribed by Eudoxius with money, and so Ulfilas persuaded them to commune with the Arians; hence they even now say that God is greater than the Son, but they deny that the Son is created, although they communicate with those who say so.

After we are informed that Bretanio was the sole bishop of the Scythians, we hear of Ulfilas, the bishop of the Goths, who persuades his people nominally to have communion with the Arians, although remaining Catholics. This, however, is far from being an explanation of how the Arian pest reached them. It is merely an insoluble contradiction. Leaving out the account about Ulfilas, we have the identical statement as in Orosius, which would indicate that Theodoretus was interpolated independently of Socrates and Sozomenus. The *Historia tripartita* gives the accounts from Socrates and Theodoretus side by side, making it quite impossible to see how they justify the reading, "quemadmodum se Gothi contulerint ad Valentem, et quomodo ad Gothos pestis Ariana pervenerit."[1]

[1] VIII. 13.

We have the same account about Bretanio in Sozomenus. "Wherever the churches were in charge of good and honorable men, the people, as is natural, did not change their former faith. For that reason, they say, the Scythians remained in their old faith. This province has many cities, villages, and fortresses. Its metropolis is Tomes, a large and prosperous city, situated on the sea, on the left of the Euxine Sea. The old custom still prevails there, that one bishop rules the churches of the whole province. At that time Bettranio was in charge of the churches, when Valens approached the city of Tomes. When he entered the church, and, as was his wont, tried to persuade the bishop to have communion with the Arians, Bettranio spoke to him constantly and freely of the Nicene creed, and, leaving him, went to another church, followed by his people. Nearly the whole city had come there, in order to see the emperor, and because they thought something new would happen. Valens, being left with his own men, resented the insult. Therefore he ordered Bettranio to be seized and sent into exile. But, after a while, he allowed him to return, because he saw the anger of the Scythians and was afraid that they would start a revolt. He knew that they were brave and considered them useful to the empire, on account of their situation, as serving as a barrier to the neighboring barbarians. Thus Bettranio overcame Valens, he being a good and irreproachable man, as the Scythians themselves testify."[1]

There is no place anywhere for Ulfilas. That the Scythians here mentioned include Goths is clear from the mention of their city, Tomes, for later, in the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo claimed that Gothic was still preached in the church of Tomes. When we look at the Pseudo-Orosius reference to the Goths in Valens'

[1] VI. 21.

time we have an amazing coincidence, except for the last sentence, where it is said that Valens was burnt by the Goths, who in death would burn for their Arianism. Up to this last sentence the accounts in Pseudo-Orosius and Sozomenus are identical. From this it may be concluded that the original Isidore had the story from Sozomenus, which was followed by the statement that the Goths became Arians, hence suffered after death. It is exactly what appeared to have been in Isidore, before the Ulfilas account from the *Historia tripartita* reached it.

One would expect to get some kind of reliable account of Ulfilas from Philostorgius, but one is disappointed at every step. The statement made that the Goths became Arians or Semi-Arians from the start and that Ulfilas was their first bishop, is flatly contradicted by every contemporary source. That Ulfilas did not translate the Book of Kings is obviously apocryphal. The rest is a rehash of a laudatory account of Constantine, the apocryphal growth of which we can follow in detail. Eusebius of Caesarea in his *De vita Constantini* tells how Constantine conquered the Scythians and Sarmatians, who formerly exacted tribute from the Romans and now were made to pay tribute to them. Constantine wisely brought the barbarians from a savage life to one of civilization.[1] Not a word is said here of their being converted to Christianity. Socrates has the same story, but here the Scythians are called Goths, and we are informed that the barbarians then for the first time became Christians.[2] Sozomenus has a much enlarged account. In Constantine's time the nations along the Rhine, the Celts, the Gauls, the Goths, and their neighbors near the Danube, having been Christianized earlier,

[1] IV. 5.
[2] I. 18.

now became civilized and meek. The barbarians had become acquainted with Christianity during the wars waged by the Romans with them in the reign of Gallienus and the subsequent emperors. When an innumerable host of them crossed over from Thrace to Asia, many Christian priests were captured by them and taken back to their country. These cured the sick and drove out unclean spirits, and on account of the miracles thus performed among them, the barbarians became Christians.[1]

This development and embellishment of the original story in Eusebius is obviously apocryphal, since Justin Martyr[2] and Tertullian[3] know of Christianity among the Scythians much earlier; but the account in Philostorgius is so clearly a development of the chance references in Sozomenus to Gallienus, Asia Minor, and captives, that the first can only have borrowed from the second. Sozomenus wrote about 450, when Philostorgius was most likely dead. At any rate, the history of Philostorgius goes up to 424, that of Sozomenus, at least up to 439. It is, therefore, certain that Philostorgius had nothing whatsoever to do with the account of Ulfilas. Photius was not above distorting facts, and his lying propensities have been fully discussed. His tendency to insert passages of his own into the work of other people is well known.[4] Just as he appropriated whole passages from Theodoretus,[5] without even mentioning the fact, so we may be quite sure that he similarly plagiarized Sozomenus for his passage in Philostorgius. The testimony of Photius, for we have not the original Philostorgius, is worthless and must be abandoned.

[1] II. 6.
[2] *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, CXVII.
[3] *Adversus Judaeos*, VII.
[4] Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, vol. CI, col. 6 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, col. 7.

We now come to the last stronghold of those who have written on Ulfilas. Here we have a very detailed work on the source,[1] and so can investigate the great forgery minutely, and in the same order in which Kauffmann has discussed the work.

Cod. Paris. lat. 8907 contains, in two columns, Ambrosius' *De fide* and *Gesta Aquileia*, written in beautiful uncials. Around the margin there is the account of Auxentius about Ulfilas, written in semiuncials. Both the uncials and semiuncials have been located anywhere from 381 to the seventh century.[2] Fortunately, we have a "splendid"[3] reproduction of an uncial part and of fol. 342′ in semiuncial in Delisle's *Le Cabinet*, Planche VIII. Here we can study the palaeography. The uncial part, with its flourishes and ivy leaf ornamentation, bears a striking resemblance to the Ada Manuscript[4] and to the Utrecht Psalter,[5] hence cannot be of an earlier date than the end of the eighth century. This is emphatically proved by the semiuncial writing, which, being replete with instances of the long *i*, cannot be of an earlier date. Thus the question of palaeography is settled, at least as regards the semiuncial writing, with which we are dealing.

Kauffmann finds a confirmation of the Italian origin of the writing in the sixth century in the writing *Hisdrael*, which he compares with *Sdrael* in the Brixianus.[6] As *Hisdrael* is also a Spanish form and the Brixianus is of the eighth century,[7] Kauffmann's argument falls flatly to the ground. He finds another

[1] F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila. Auxenti Dorostorensis Epistula de fide, vita et obitu Wulfilae*, Strassburg 1899.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. XX.
[4] See my *Contributions*, vol. II, pp. 272–3, 276.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. XXII.
[7] *Contributions*, vol. II, p. 271; see also Index, s. v.

confirmation in the Itala readings of Bible quotations. As I have already shown their presence in Joannes Scottus,[1] and have similarly pointed out that the Codex Bezae and similar Latin texts are of the eighth century, it is useless to adduce this as a proof of antiquity.

When one comes to the subject matter itself, one is perplexed at the whole performance. Around the borders the semiuncial writing begins by repeating the *Gesta Aquileia* up to fol. 303′, where it breaks off with "et reliqua" and enters upon an original composition, beginning with "si quis uult legere sequentiam, que abrupte et stulte prosecuti sunt, legat intus in plenario qui in hoc ipso corpore et inueniet quod rectum est sanctum Palladium prosecutum fuisse." Kauffmann thinks that "qui in hoc ipso corpore" is a late addition, there having existed an older text.[2] If this is so, the older text must equally have been written around the text of the *Gesta Aquileia*, otherwise the words "legat in plenario," "let him read in the full text," have no meaning, as there is no reference to the title of another text. Incidentally, *plenarium*, in the sense of "full text," as opposed to "breviarium," is in Ducange recorded only from the ninth century on.

After a short discussion of the Arian creed, we get the sentence, "hoc secundum diuinum magisterium Arri cristiana professio; hoc et Theognius episkopus, hoc et Eusebius storiografus et . . . quorum professiones et nomina in seque . . cenda sunt nam et ad oriente perrexisse memorato episcopos cum Ulfila episkopo ad comitatum Theodosi inperatoris epistula decla . ."[3] After that, two lines are cut off. Kauffmann supplies them as follows: "rat Auxenti episkopi Dorostorensis,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 270 f.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. XXII.
[3] Fol. 304, *ibid.*, p. 15.

ibique imperatorem adisse adque eis promissum fuisse concilium. Erat quidem Ulfila conuersacione episkopus satis p . . eloquio."[1] This emendation or reconstruction is not merely problematic, but it is false, for toward the end of the semiuncial writing[2] we have the phrase: "et quamuis aucxenti ita meministi ut non indicares de quo dixeris utrum de superstite id est Dorostorensi an de Mediolanensi qui sine successore decessit tamen scito tam Palladium Ratiarensem Auxentium inter ceteros consortes sancto et omni reverentia digno ac fidelissimo doctori Demofilo ubicumque examen haberi placuerit domino omnipotente per unigenitum suum Iesum dominum nostrum auxilium ferente glorioso ac salutari certamini non defuturos."

Obviously there was no statement made before that Auxentius was from Dorostorum. If it was, then the whole commentary is a worthless jumble from the start. One can see how the forger (for it can only be a forger who wrote this Commentary) came to make the final statement. He made Auxentius, the friend and associate of Demophilus, write the letter about Ulfilas, and later[3] made both accompany Ulfilas to Constantinople. Now, the Auxentius who was the associate of Demophilus was Auxentius of Milan,[4] who died in 374. The forger, noticing toward the end of his Commentary that he had made a blunder in date, created a new Auxentius, of Dorostorum, to present a letter about Ulfilas in or after 381, although no such Auxentius is known to history.

The forger speaks of the first Auxentius as having died without a successor. Kauffmann finds in this the "objective proof" that the Commentary was first

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[2] Fol. 348′, p. 56.
[3] Fol. 349, p. 57.
[4] Socrates, II. 37.

composed before 385, when the second Bishop Auxentius of Milan was ordained. But the conclusion is absurd. "A bishop died without a successor" is merest nonsense. It could have been written only by a forger who knew that there was another Auxentius later. As a matter of fact, the confusion arose in him through the statement made by Ambrose, "Palladium uel Demofilum adque Auxentium uel perfidiae eius heresis (for *heredes*),"[1] which made him believe that Auxentius had an heir.

The two passages quoted from the Commentary are replete with stupidities. Eusebius is mentioned as a historiographer. Kauffmann observes correctly that this is impossible,[2] and so concludes that *storiographus* is a later insertion. After what we have heard of Auxentius of Dorostorum we need not assume anything more than a blunder by the forger. Indeed, in the *Historia tripartita* Eusebius is mentioned in this context without specifying where he came from,[3] hence the forger, who may have had the History before him, made the confusion. That the forger had some such source before him is the more likely, since the same passage in the *Historia tripartita*, quoting from Sozomenus, III. 1, says "praecipue vero Arii sectatores Eusebius et Theogonius, cuius dogma se firmare credebant," which led the forger to say "hoc secundum diuinum magisterium Arri cristiana professio; hoc et Theognius episkopus, hoc et Eusebius storiografus." Kauffmann[4] says that *Arri* is a blunder of a later copyist, because Ambrose quotes Palladius as saying (fol. 302′), "dicitis quod Arrium non sequamini." There is no blunder here. The forger simply quoted from the *Historia tripartita* or a similar source.

[1] Fol. 336′, p. 32.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. XXIV, XLIX.
[3] IV. 1.
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. XXIV, 96.

"*Ad comitatum* Theodosii" is a late expression. In the fourth century *ad comitatum* meant "at the court." But Sievers had already noticed, though timidly, that here it must mean "a journey with the intention of presenting a petition."[1] This expression occurs again on folio 282:[2] "Nam et ad Oriente perrexisse memoratos episkopos cum Ulfila episcopo *ad comitatum* Theodosi imperatoris epistula declarat." We have it also on folio 327,[3] "unde et cum sancto Hulfila ceterisque consortibus *ad alium comitatum* Constantinopolim venissent ibique etiam et imperatores adissent, adque eis promissum fuisset concilium, ut sanctus Auxentius exposuit." Here it is clear that "*ad comitatum* venire" means "to go to petition." Sievers correctly draws the conclusion that it means "to go with a petition," because we have instead *postulare* on folio 286,[4] "sanctorum episkoporum nostrorum, ut non solum in partibus occidentalibus de Illirico advenirent *postulantes* concilium (dari ut?) gesta ab ipsis ereticis confecta indicant," and again, folio 286, "recitatae, etiam ad orientem perrexerunt *idem postulantes*." What Sievers did not notice is that *ad comitatum* is clearly defined in the Commentary itself. Maximinus objects to Ambrose's assumption of authority over the Arians. "Do you not know that Peter's see is equal and common for all bishops, since that holy apostle dedicated it with divine consecration not only for the bishop of Rome, but also for all others? He did not vindicate to himself any special prerogative, but was obliging to those whom he considered to be elected by an equal consecration of the Lord to the apostolic office. He was obliging when, joining unto himself John, he was sent to Samaria *ad comitatum*, as the Acts of the Apostles

[1] *Paul und Braune, Beiträge*, vol. XX, p. 310 ff.
[2] G. Waitz, *Über das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila*, Hannover 1840, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23, and fol. 349, Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[4] Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

teach us, saying: 'Cum audissent autem qui Hierosolymis erant apostoli, quod Samaria quoque recepit uerbum dei, miserunt ad eos Petrum et Johannem, qui *descenderunt et orauerunt pro eis*, ut acciperent spiritum sanctum.' "[1]

It is clear that here *comitatus* means "a meeting at which one speaks or prays." One will look in vain for such a meaning in the fourth or fifth century. We find it in the Graeco-Latin glosses, "*comitatus συνοδια*,"[2] in Isidore, "synodum autem ex Graeco interpretari *comitatum* vel coetum," in Eucherius' *Instructiones*, "synodus *comitatus* vel coetus,"[3] in the Leyden glosses *De canonibus*, "synodus graece, latine *comitatus* vel coetus,"[4] in the Placidus glosses, "synodus *comitatus* vel collectio."[5] Wherever we have the word, we have a mere etymological speculation, namely, *συν* + *οδος* = *com* + *itus*, *co* + *etus*. The unmistakable meaning, "meeting, convention," which it has in our Commentary, marks the language of the Commentary as of a much later date than the fourth century.

We know nothing of Auxentius, except what appears here. The case is no better with Maximinus, who, apparently, is the first writer of the Commentary. Kauffmann has shown conclusively that this Maximinus is identical with the bishop who in 427 or 428 had a dispute with St. Augustine at Hippo.[6] As he speaks of St. Augustine "aetate praecedis et auctoritate maior," and Augustine was at that time 74 years old, Maximinus can at most have been 24 years old in 381, when the meeting at Aquileia took place. He

[1] Fol. 344', Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[2] Goetz, II. 104, 446, 510, etc.
[3] C. Wotke, *Sancti Eucherii Lugdunensis Formulae, etc.*, in *CSEL.*, vol. XXXI, p. 161.
[4] Goetz, V. 412.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. LIV ff.

cannot possibly have been a bishop at that time, "hence an interpolator put in the frequent references, 'Maximinus *episcopus* disserens dixit.'"[1]

The more natural conclusion is that the forger blundered and put words into the mouth of a man who could not have said them at Aquileia. Indeed, H. Böhmer,[2] who has no doubt about the authenticity of the Commentary, says of Maximinus that he did not know what he was talking about, when he said that Theodosius was influenced by Ambrose of Milan to go back on the promise made to Ulfilas and Palladius of calling a council; because we know for certain that Theodosius did invite the heretical bishops of his realm, consequently also Ulfilas, but not Palladius and Secundianus, and because we also know that it was Nectarius of Constantinople, and not Ambrose, who persuaded him to abandon the council. Still worse informed was the glossator of Maximinus, who makes Theodosius pass two laws, one of the year 388, the other of 386, in order to frustrate the meeting many years earlier.

But the case is far worse still. The Commentary ends by quoting a law from the *Codex Theodosianus*, which was not published until 438. Even Kauffmann has to exclaim: "This law (XVI. 4, 1, of the year 386) could have been quoted only by a silly man who stood so far away from the things treated at that time that he was unable to comprehend the ecclesiastic and political legislation of Valentinianus. Thus, contrary to all sense, he referred to a law which was in favor of the Arians and threatened the followers of Ambrose with punishment, for this law was promulgated, not in order to deprive the Arians of the right of meeting,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. LVI.

[2] *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Dritte Auflage, vol. XXI, p. 553 f.

but in order to leave it unimpaired. The two laws are as useless in this place as the false conjecture."[1]

Sievers tried in vain to harmonize the contradictions between Maximinus, Philostorgius, and Auxentius.[2] Thus by rejecting as interpolations everything which interfered with the assumption of the Ulfilas legend, and building on ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, such as on an unknown Auxentius of Dorostorum, who is mentioned immediately before the "silly" quotations from the *Codex Theodosianus*, have the Germanic scholars saved from the wreck what was not worth saving.

What happened in all probability is this. The forger had before him, not only the *Gesta Aquileia*, but also some Arian commentary on the text. To this he added from his imagination, or, more likely, from a Gothic *Antiquitas*, the story of Ulfilas, and, jumbling together dates and persons, came to discordant and impossible conclusions. Thus he had to stretch the years of Maximinus, to create a new Auxentius, to send Ulfilas on journeys impossible in the days before the railways and steamboats,[3] to adduce the *Codex Theodosianus*, which appeared nearly fifty years later, and to quote *ex post facto* laws, which unfortunately had the opposite effect. Idiocy cannot go farther.

The story about Ulfilas in Auxentius is as meager and useless as all the rest. Sievers has already shown that the division of Ulfilas' life into thirty years up to his ordination as a bishop and forty years afterwards, is merely schematic and improbable.[4] What Auxentius tells of Ulfilas is this: he was learned, a true confessor of Christ. Then we get an overlong account of his creed. He was bishop for forty years, writing in Greek, Latin, and Gothic. A Gothic king perse-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 109.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 321.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 318.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

cuted the Christians, and Ulfilas, driven from his country, as Moses drew his people away from the violence of Pharaoh, took his Goths across the Danube and made them worship God in the mountains as did the saints. He taught on Roman soil for thirty-three years. After preaching for forty years, he was called to Constantinople to fight some heretics, and there he died. Then comes his own Creed, where he says that he has always believed that way.

One would have expected from a pupil and follower of Ulfilas to hear something about the city where he was bishop, about the writings which were attributed to him, some incidents in his life beyond the mere skeleton of his ordination and death. Of all that there is not a word. There are many statements in this account which resemble those of Philostorgius, as, for example, the reference to Ulfilas being a Moses. One can see how this phrase arose. We learn from Jordanes that Ulfilas took his people across the Danube into *Moesia*. Reading *Moesia* as *Moises*, we get the pretty story, that, like Moses, Ulfilas took his people across the Danube. But not a single one of the old accounts connected the crossing of the Danube with Ulfilas. This event took place between 369 and 373, and if Ulfilas lived thirty-three years after that, he must have died about 404. This coincides entirely with the story of *Unilas*, the Catholic bishop of the Goths in Gothia, whom John Chrysostom had ordained and sent there, "admirandum illum episcopum Unilam, quem non ita pridem ordinavi atque in Gotthiam misi, multis ac magnis rebus gestis, diem suum extremum clausisse."[1] There can be no doubt that we have here a confusion, a misreading, of *Ulfilas* for the *Unilas* of John Chrysostom, and transference of the true account of the death of the Gothic bishop to the imaginary person

[1] Montfaucon, *Joannis Chrysostomi Opera*, vol. III², p. 722.

who invented the Gothic letters and wrote so much in three languages.

When we examine Ulfilas' creed, and keep in mind that Socrates and Sozomenus said that Ulfilas subscribed to the creed of Ariminum, we at once see why the forger expanded so lavishly on the creed and last will of Ulfilas. Here he could easily follow the recorded opinion of Bishop Maximinus, the very man who is made to contradict Ambrose on all points. That the language of Auxentius has amazing resemblances, though in a much inferior style, to that of Maximinus, has already been noticed by Kauffmann, but it has never occurred to him that the whole Commentary is to a great extent a plagiarism, with profuse additions, from Maximinus' defence before St. Augustine. I shall, therefore, go into greater detail on this point.

The Arians at the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century renounced Arius[1] and claimed adherence to the compromise creed of Ariminum. Maximinus says: "si fidem meam postulas, ego illam teneo fidem quae Arimini a trecentis et triginta episcopis, non solum exposita, sed etiam subscriptionibus firmata est."[2] Similarly Auxentius of Milan said: "ex infantia, quemadmodum doctus sum, sicut accepi de sanctis Scripturis, credidi . . sic credidi, et credo. . . omnes ergo haereses, quae adversus catholicam fidem veniunt, semper quidem congregati episcopi catholici condemnaverunt et anathematizaverunt, specialiter autem convenientes Arimino, et inde condemnavimus."[3] For that reason, the juxtaposition in our Commentary of "hoc secundum diuinum magisterium *Arri* cristiana

[1] "Numquam scivi Arium, non vidi oculis, non cognovi ejus doctrinam," Auxentius of Milan, Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. X, col. 617; "Palladius dixit: Arrium nec uidi nec scio qui sit," Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XLII, col. 710.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. X, col. 617 f.

professio" with a creed which is based on the compromise creed of Ariminum, is absurd and cannot belong to that period. The confession "semper sic credidi et in hac fide sola et uera transitum facio ad dominum meum," is contradicted by the statement made by the Greek historians that Ulfilas first followed the Nicene creed. It contradicts itself, since Ulfilas could not have been brought up in the beginning of the fourth century in a creed which did not yet exist. It is simply a formula compounded from Maximinus and Auxentius of Milan, where the two claimed adherence to the same creed of Ariminum, in order to avoid the accusation of being fullfledged Arians. The forger did not notice that, although being Arian, neither Maximinus nor Auxentius could have said "*Arri* professio," although this is found in the *Historia tripartita*, that is, in a Catholic source.

The *Credo* of Ulfilas is made up from statements of Maximinus. Ulfilas says: "Credo unum esse deum patrem; solum ingenitum et inuisiuilem et in unigenitum filium eius dominum et deum nostrum, opificem et factorem uniuerse creature non habentem similem suum ideo unus est omnium deus pater, qui et dei nostri est deus."[1] Christ is God, the Maker of all creatures. So Maximinus says: "Nos Christum colimus ut Deum omnis creaturae,"[2] and "Pater enim in illa immensa potentia potentem creatorem genuit."[3] Hence "Christ is our God," "an solus Pater unus Deus dicendus est, cujus Filius Christus noster est Deus."[4] God is not merely "one," he is "solely one," even as Maximinus says, "ego Patrem solum secundum antelata testimonia, non cum altero et tertio dico quod

[1] Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[2] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XLII, col. 724.
[3] *Ibid.*, col. 729.
[4] *Ibid.*, col. 738.

unus est, sed quod solus unus est Deus,"[1] and "quomodo ergo solus potens Pater? sed solum dicit ob hoc, quia nullus ei comparatur, quia solus est tantae magnitudinis, tantae potestatis, tantae potentiae."[2] God is invisible, "invenies quemadmodum est unus invisibilis Deus Pater."[3] Similarly, Christ is *unigenitus*, "consideranda est virtus Unigeniti Dei, et in ipso admiranda est magnitudo omnipotentiae Dei Patris, qui tantum ac talem genuit Filium."[4] That God is *ingenitus* follows from "verus innatus Pater verum genuit Filium."[5] Ulfilas' "qui et Dei nostri est Deus" follows from the same statement, and from the preceding sentence, "Deus Deum genuit." That Christ has no one similar to Him is expressed thus: "nihil est in coelo quod non genu flectat Christo."[6]

Ulfilas says of the Holy Ghost, "et unum spiritum sanctum, uirtutem inluminantem et sanctificantem . . . nec deum nec dominum sed ministrum Cristi (fidelem), nec (equalem) sed subditum et oboedientem in omnibus filio." We find in Maximinus, "unus est Spiritus sanctus paracletus, qui est illuminator et sanctificator animarum nostrarum,"[7] and "nos enim Spiritum sanctum competenter honoramus ut doctorem, ut ducatorem, ut illuminatorem, ut sanctificatorem,"[8] where the very words are used as in the Commentary. To the statement made by St. Augustine that the Holy Ghost is equal to the Son, Maximinus says: "Dicis Spiritum sanctum quod aequalis sit Filio. Da testimonia, ubi adoratur Spiritus sanctus."[9] When Ulfilas further says, "et filium subditum et oboedientem

[1] *Ibid.*, col. 728.
[2] *Ibid.*, col. 729.
[3] *Ibid.*, col. 728.
[4] *Ibid.*, col. 727.
[5] *Ibid.*, col. 733.
[6] *Ibid.*, col. 724.
[7] *Ibid.*, col. 711.
[8] *Ibid.*, col. 725.
[9] *Ibid.*, col. 724.

suo in omnibus deo patri," we at once get this from Maximinus' "si parentibus subditus, ut divinarum Scripturarum auctoritas luce clarius praedicat, quanto magis utique illi suo genitori est subditus, qui tantum ac talem genuit."[1]

The creed in regard to the Holy Ghost is greatly reduced in Ulfilas, for in another place Auxentius says,[2] "uno enim deo ingenito extante et uno domino unigenito deo subsistente spiritus sanctus aduocatus nec deus nec dominus potest dici, sed a deo per dominum ut esset accepit: non auctor neque craeator, sed inluminator et sanctificator, doctor et ducator, adiutor et postulator, pre . . tor et (informa)tor, Cristi minister et gratiarum diuisor, pignus hereditatis in quo signati sumus in diem redemtionis." The phrase, "inluminator et sanctificator, doctor et ducator," is identical with that of Maximinus already quoted. The amplifications in Ulfilas are due to quotations from Arian texts, which are adduced in full by Kauffmann. But it must be clear from what has already been said that the relation between our Commentary and Maximinus is far more intimate than between the Commentary and any other known source. It is inconceivable that Maximinus, in his dispute with St. Augustine, should have quoted from the unknown and blundering Auxentius, who wrote fifty years earlier. The deposition of Maximinus before the ecclesiastic court was spontaneous and it was taken down by Antonius, the notary, so that St. Augustine himself had to refer to the deposition.[3] It is, therefore, more natural to suppose that the forger, who made Maximinus annotate the *Gesta Aquileia*, also quoted his language and arguments whenever his other Arian sources failed him.

[1] *Ibid.*, col. 735.
[2] Fol. 306, Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[3] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XLII, col. 713.

The forger was not an Arian, because then he would not have confused the creed of Ariminum with an Arian profession of faith. Least of all could he have written as an Arian in the fifth century, when the Arians, like Maximinus and Auxentius before him, renounced Arius and claimed adherence to the creed of Ariminum. We can now see how hopelessly bad the accounts of Socrates and Sozomenus are about Ulfilas. According to both, Ulfilas subscribed to the Ariminum creed at Constantinople. Yet Sozomenus tells us that Ulfilas became Arian when he came to Constantinople, and persuaded his people to become Arians. Theodoretus more specifically says that Ulfilas was bribed to hold communion with the Arians, when Valens invaded his country, but that he did not depart from his paternal religion.

Apart from the hopeless contradiction, the story is impossible. If Ulfilas subscribed to the Ariminum creed, he was an Arian from the Catholic standpoint, but considered himself to be a true Catholic, even as did Auxentius of Milan and Maximinus. Hence, neither from his nor from the Catholic standpoint did he *become* an Arian when he went to Constantinople or when Valens came to Moesia.

On the other hand, while the account of the persecution of Athanaric and the Gothic settlement in Moesia are given correctly as to date in Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus, it is, as connected with Ulfilas, removed to about the year 348, instead of approximately 371, in Auxentius. Here Auxentius is totally wrong.

One can see how the whole series of blunders arose. The chronicles, including the first edition of Isidore's *Chronica* and *Historia Gothorum*, had a correct account of Athanaric, the Gothic settlement in Moesia, and, possibly, the Arianism of the Goths after Valens. In

the beginning of the eighth century a Gothic *Antiquitas* related the story of *Ulfilas*, the famous Gothic bishop who invented the Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic, the name *Ulfilas* arising from a misreading of the name of the Catholic Gothic bishop, *Unilas*, who, according to John Chrysostom, had done so much for the Goths and died in 404, in conjunction with the fact that the newly invented Gothic alphabet was ascribed to the famous Gothic bishop.

As the Goths had been Arians before becoming again Catholics, the conclusion was drawn that Ulfilas was an Arian, and from the specific statement of Maximinus, the bishop of the Arians, who was accessible to Catholic writers in St. Augustine, that he subscribed to the Ariminum creed, it was concluded that Ulfilas' Arianism was of the same kind. Thus there must have been a stage preceding that of Auxentius (of Dorostorum), in which we had a correct account of Athanaric and the migration of the Goths to Moesia, connected with the spurious Arianism of Ulfilas and his subscription to the creed of Ariminum.

The editors of Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoretus, and the *Historia tripartita* interpolated the account of Ulfilas, his signing the Ariminum creed of Constantinople, and his Arianism in the correct account of Athanaric and the migration to Moesia. But the forger of the Commentary to the *Gesta Aquileia* wanted to be more clever than these, and got himself inextricably into a bog.

He knew that thirty-three years had passed between the migration of the Gothic *Moses* (instead of "into *Moesia*") across the Danube and the death of *Ulfilas* (*Unilas*), also that *Ulfilas* had been in Constantinople. Placing his presence in Constantinople in 383, and letting him die there instead of Athanaric, he subtracted 33 years from 381, and found that Ulfilas must have

crossed the Danube under Constantius, having suffered then persecution under a Gothic "judex."

To make his camouflage perfect, he quoted all of the arguments of the Ariminum creed from Maximinus, and ascribed to him also the criticisms on the *Gesta Aquileia*, without observing that the bishop who was less than 70 years old in 428 could not possibly have been a bishop at Aquileia in 381. The forger also knew that Auxentius was a good name for an Arian bishop, and so he made him the student of Ulfilas. It was only when his forgery was completed that he observed that Auxentius of Milan died "without heir" in 374 and that he had made him write a letter to Bishop Maximinus, who in 381 was at most 24 years old. So he promptly corrected the blunder by inventing an Auxentius of Dorostorum, in Thrace, closer to, but not in, the Gothic country, to make the case more plausible. *Pour la bonne bouche*, he finished up his work by quoting from the *Codex Theodosianus*, published after 438, two laws, one of 386, the other of 388, which proved precisely the opposite of what he intended to say.

Philostorgius is obviously based on Auxentius. Here we have the same reference to Moses and to Eusebius, who now is made to baptize Ulfilas. We have here also the apocryphal story of not translating the Canonical Book of the Kings, and the pretty story, told by the older historians of all the Barbarian Christians, of having derived his Christianity from Asia Minor, more especially, from Cappadocia.

When all the impossible and contradictory accounts are eliminated from all these sources, we return to the authenticated and absolutely uniform story that the Goths were chiefly Catholic in the fourth century, that as late as 404 they had a Catholic bishop Unilas, that there was in Gothia a persecution of Catholic

Goths under Athanaric, that only the soldier rabble in Constantinople, more especially, in Rome, adhered to the Arian court party, and that Alaric did not seriously consider the Arian party until his expedition into Italy and sack of Rome.

Of Ulfilas, the Arian bishop, who discovered the Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic, not a trace is left. It is true, there is a poem ascribed to Eugene of Toledo in which Ulfilas is mentioned:

> "Moyses primus Hebraeas exaravit litteras,
> mente Phoenices sagaci condiderunt Atticas;
> quas Latini scriptitamus, edidit Nicostrata,
> Abraam Syras et idem repperit Chaldaicas;
> Isis arte non minori protulit Aegyptias,
> Gulfila promsit Getarum quas videmus ultimas."[1]

This poem is not found in the important Madrid Codex, and the fragment in *A*, in which only

> "M(oyses . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . re)perta est
> . . . . . mine cepit
> . . . . discit
> . . . . . Gulfila Gotus"

can be read, shows that the verses were handled freely by interpolators, for here not a line agrees with the above. Besides, it is clear that all but the last line are taken directly out of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, I. 3. 5 and I. 4. 1, but the reference to Ulfilas is absent from the *Etymologiae*. It is found only in the *Chronica* 350, and this has already been shown to be an interpolation. The poem is repeated in Julian's *Ars grammatica*, in which it is unquestionably as much an interpolation as in the poems of Eugene.

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XIV, p. 257.

JORDANES.

Mommsen ventured the guess that Jordanes' *Getica* was known to Secundus, who in 612 wrote a History of the Langobards,[1] but he cautiously added that the passages thus borrowed are too few in number to admit anything more than a conjecture. Since Jordanes supposedly used Cassiodorus' work for his *Getica*, such borrowing may have been made directly from Cassiodorus, and Secundus cannot be adduced as a proof that Jordanes was already known in 612.

The next mention of Jordanes, according to Mommsen,[2] is to be found in the *Scholia Statiana*, where *strava* of Jordanes' *Getica*, XLIX (258) is quoted. Mommsen himself admits that the Scholia must be later than Lactantius, or are interpolated in the sixth century. Now Jahnke[3] is far more careful. He does not undertake to determine what is genuine and what is interpolated later. As the oldest MS. of the Scholia is of the eleventh or twelfth century, the Scholia are no evidence for the age of Jordanes.

Next Mommsen finds a reference to Jordanes in the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* (*MGH., Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 287), where it says that Wando, who was abbot from 742 to 747 and died in 756, left to the Monastery of S. Wandregisilus his library, and among these books was "Historia Iordanis episcopi Ravennatis ecclesiae Getarum."[4] As among these books we also find a commentary to the Gospels by

[1] *Neues Archiv*, vol. V, p. 75.
[2] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. V[1], p. XLV.
[3] *Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur Commentarii in Statii Thebaida*, Lipsiae 1898, p. IX.
[4] *MGH., op. cit.*, p. LXIII.

Sedulius, obviously Sedulius Scottus, who lived in the middle of the ninth century, and the *Gesta* were written after 833, the reference to Jordanes is valueless.

Mommsen assumes that Paulus Diaconus quoted Jordanes in his *Historia Langobardorum*, which was written before 774. That is possible, but, of course, he may have quoted from the same sources from which Jordanes drew his information, namely, from the *Antiquitas*, Ablabius, and Cassiodorus. The oldest and best MS. of Jordanes is of the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century (*Heidelbergensis*), and the oldest definite reference to Jordanes is found in the Cosmography of the Ravenna Anonymus.[1] Thus we have so far only the definite proof that Jordanes was known before the ninth century, possibly at the end of the eighth century.

In the *Getica* there is a reference to Jordanes' origin, but when we consider that the very introduction to the work is a bold forgery, as has long ago been recognized by Sybel,[2] we cannot place any faith in what the author has to say about himself. According to his statement, he, although "agrammatus," that is, without knowledge of letters, had been a notary of Gunthiges or Baza, a nephew of Candac, apparently an Alan chief,[3] although, according to his own statement, he himself was a Goth. He also says that he wrote his book in the year 551. All these statements may have been cribbed by the author from older sources, even as he cribbed the introduction out of Rufinus.

Mommsen has given a list of the sources mentioned or used by Jordanes. Among these are Fabius, who

[1] "Quam et Iordanus sapientissimus chronographus Scanzan appellat," Pinder and Parthey, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, Berolini 1860, p. 29; also pp. 168, 179, 185, 205, 221, 422.
[2] *MGH., op. cit.*, p. 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. VI.

wrote of Ravenna, and of whom we know nothing, and Ablabius, who is three times mentioned as a historian of the Goths, of whom we equally know nothing. But the information they give us is insignificant and need not trouble us. Far more important is the information which Jordanes drew from the legendary lore, which he claims to have received from the *Antiquitas*. That the *Antiquitas* was a real collection, now lost, is proved by the references to it. Speaking of the Gothic bards, Jordanes says that the "miranda *Antiquitas*" hardly boasts of any heroes equal to them.[1] Here "miranda," as an epithet of *Antiquitas*, can refer only to a book, and not to a tradition. Speaking of the Huns, the author quotes Orosius with the words, "ut refert Orosius." Immediately afterwards he goes on to give an elaborate account of the Huns as born of witches, "ut refert *Antiquitas*." Obviously this account, which is not mentioned in any history, is taken from a legendary book account.[2] We have also the definite statement that the *Antiquitas* relates marvelous and extraordinary accounts.[3]

In a similar way Paulus Diaconus speaks of a collection of stories, when he says, "in this place the *Antiquitas* tells a ridiculous story."[4] It has been assumed that the reference is to the *Origo*, attached to the Langobard laws, but even so, why does Paulus talk not of the *Origo*, but of the *Antiquitas*? Besides, Meginhard similarly quotes the *Antiquitas* for the origin of the Saxons, and this obviously cannot be identical with the *Origo Langobardorum*.[5] Thus it

[1] "Quales vix heroas fuisse miranda iactat *Antiquitas*," V (43).

[2] "Post autem non longi temporis intervallo, ut refert Orosius, Hunnorum gens omni ferocitate atrocior exarsit in Gothos. nam hos, *ut refert Antiquitas*, ita extitisse conperimus," XXIV (121).

[3] "Bellum atrox multiplex immane pertinax, cui simile nulla usquam narrat *Antiquitas*, ubi talia gesta referantur," XL (207).

[4] *Historia Langobardorum*, I. 8.

[5] "Saxonum gens, sicut tradit *Antiquitas*, ab Anglis Britanniae incolis egressa," *MGH., Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 674.

is evident that the *Antiquitas* was a collection of legendary Germanic lore in general, from which the *Origo*, Meginhard's account, and Jordanes' history of the Goths drew their information.

Jordanes several times refers to Dio, the historian, as his source of information,[1] but since some of the references are to Dio Cassius, one to Dictys, and at least one to Dio Chrysostom, it is certain that Jordanes did not quote at first hand.[2] The assumption that the source from which he drew had extracts from a work of Dio Chrysostom, called *Getica*, is not borne out by the evidence. There never was such a work, and Dio is credited with it on the basis of interpolated passages. The reference in Jordanes to the *Getica* of Dio[3] is false, because the story of Telephus is found in Dictys. Philostratus says that Dio Chrysostom wrote a *Getica*,[4] but this is not supported by any other evidence and is contradicted by Suidas, in whose dictionary some manuscripts have no reference to it at all, while others credit Dio Cassius with it. On the other hand, all the passages in Jordanes which are certainly from Dio Chrysostom, are all from his known orations.

"Ut ergo ad nostrum propositum redeamus, in prima sede Scythiae iuxta Meotidem commanentes praefati, unde loquimur, Filimer regem habuisse noscuntur. In secunda, id est Daciae, Thraciaeque et Mysiae solo Zalmoxen, quem mirae philosophiae eruditionis fuisse testantur plerique scriptores annalium.

[1] "Dio auctor est celeberrimus scriptor annalium," II (14); "ut refert Dio, qui historias eorum annalesque Greco stilo composuit," V (40); "Dio storicus et antiquitatum diligentissimus inquisitor, qui operi suo Getica titulum dedit, . . . hic Dio regem illis post tempora multa commemorat nomine Telefum," IX (58); "Dio storico dicente," X (65).

[2] J. de Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, Berolini 1896, vol. II, p. IV ff.

[3] IX (58).

[4] "'Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἱκανὸς ἦν ξυνγγράφειν, δηλοῖ τὰ Γετικά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εἰς Γέτας ἦλθεν, ὁπότε ἠλᾶτο,» Βίοι σοφιστῶν, ζ'.

Nam et Zeutam prius habuerunt eruditum, post etiam Dicineum, tertium Zalmoxen, de quo superius diximus. Nec defuerunt, qui eos sapientiam erudirent. Unde et pene omnibus barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper extiterunt Grecisque pene consimiles, ut refert Dio, qui historias eorum annalesque Greco stilo composuit. Qui dicit primum Tarabosteseos, deinde vocatos Pilleatos hos, qui inter eos generosi extabant, ex quibus eis et reges et sacerdotes ordinabantur" (*Getica*, V. 39-40).

One reference is to Dio Cassius, LXVIII. 9. 1: "*ὅτι ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεπόμφει μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἥττης πρέσβεις, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους;*" "Decabalus sent, not haired messengers, as before, but the best of the hat-wearers." The borrowing from this source is made clearer in one fragment of Petrus Patricius:[1] "*πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε πιλοφόρους. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τιμιώτεροι. πρότερον γὰρ κομήτας ἔπεμπε, εὐτελεστέρους δοκοῦντας παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι.*" The name *Tarabosteseos*, also spelled *strabostes eos*, *zarabostereos*, etc., can only be a corruption of *τοὺς ἀρίστους* of the text. The statement made in Jordanes as to the superiority of the *pilleati* over the *capillati*, repeated from Dio Cassius, is based on a misconception. The passage in Dio Cassius is unquestionably interpolated, for in the corresponding extract of Xiphilinus we read, "*πέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πιλοφόρων*," and there is no reference to the inferiority of "haired" men; and in another fragment of the same passage in Petrus Patricius there is not even any reference to *πιλόφοροι*,[2] nor is there anything said about them in the corresponding passage in Zonaras, XI. 21.

We have here in Jordanes a confusion of Dio with his grandfather, and, apparently, the same confusion was introduced into the Greek. In his *Βορυσθενιτικός*

[1] U. P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, Berolini 1901, vol. III, p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Dio Chrysostom tells of the Greeks of Borysthenis that they imitated the older Greek fashion of Homer's time. When Dio visited that city, the citizens invited him to talk to them near the temple of Jupiter. "The oldest and most distinguished of the Borysthenitae sat in a circle on the steps. The rest of the people stood up, for there was a large plain in front of the temple. Any philosopher would have taken pleasure in the sight, because they all wore long hair and beards in the old fashion, even as Homer tells of the Greeks, and there was only one among them who was shaven, and he was the butt of ridicule to all."[1] All, both nobles and simple folk, wore their hair long. In his oration, *Περὶ τοῦ σχήματος*, he refers to Thracian Getae who wear hats, while others wear tiaras and trousers.[2] It did not occur to him to oppose the *pilleati* to the *capillati*, for it was the Greek Borysthenitae who wore long hair and the Getae who wore hats. It is only in the passages quoted from Dio Cassius and Jordanes that the juxtaposition exists. In another place Jordanes says: "nomen illis (sacerdotibus) pilleatorum contradens, ut reor, quia opertis capitibus tyaris, quos pilleos alio nomine nuncupamus, litabant: reliquam vero gentem capillatos dicere iussit, quod nomen Gothi pro magno suscipientes adhuc odie suis cantionibus reminiscent."[3] The two passages put together at once show us that the confusion arose in Jordanes' source from a total miscomprehension of Dio Chrysostom.

[1] «Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κύκλῳ καθίζοντο ἐπὶ βάθρων· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐφεστήκεσαν· ἦν γὰρ εὐρυχωρία πολλὴ πρὸ τοῦ νεώ· πάνυ οὖν ἄν τις ἥσθη τῇ ὄψει φιλόσοφος ἀνήρ, ὅτι ἅπαντες ἦσαν τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, κομῶντες καὶ τὰ γένεια ἀφεικότες, εἷς δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς μόνος ἐξυρημένος, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἐμίσουν ἅπαντες,» *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[2] «Ἔνθα γὰρ ἐνίοτε βλέπουσιν ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μέν τινας πίλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντας, ὡς νῦν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τινες τῶν Γετῶν λεγομένων, πρότερον δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλους δὲ τιάραν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας,» *ibid.*, p. 184 f.

[3] XI (71, 72).

The long hair, according to Dio, is a sign of their primitiveness, which a philosopher, that is, one versed in the lore of antiquity, could not help but admire, because Homer called the Greeks the longhaired ones. From this arose the absurd statement that the Goths still speak in their songs with respect to the longhaired ones. Indeed, the very passage where the forger or Jordanes speaks of the *pilleati* (V. 40), contains the statement that the Goths are wiser than nearly all the barbarians and almost similar to the Greeks, a statement which refers to the love of Homer found among the Borysthenitae, and which is taken out directly from Dio Chrysostom's *Βορυσθενιτικός*.

Dio went to Borysthenis in order to travel further into Scythia and study the Getae on the spot. "The city of the Borysthenitae is not as large as it was reputed anciently to be, on account of the frequent wars and having been captured so often. Lying, as it does, amidst the barbarians, and having existed in the most warlike of times, it has always been waging war, and has frequently been captured. The last and greatest defeat it suffered not more than one hundred and fifty years ago. It was the Getae who seized it, together with other cities on the left of the Pontus, as far as Apollonia. Thus the Greeks living there were in sore straits, since there were as yet few colonies and most of them were overrun by the barbarians. Many parts of the Greek country fell into their hands, because the Greeks were scattered over a large territory. Then the Borysthenitae again colonized the city, with the permission of the Scythians, I think, because these were in need of commercial relations with Greece.[1] But

[1] This very sentence from Dio Chrysostom was incorporated by Jordanes: "in eo vero latere, qua Ponticum litus attingit, oppidis haut obscuris involvitur, Boristhenide, Olbia, Callipolida, Chersona, Theodosia, Careon, Myrmicion et Trapezunta, quas indomiti Scytharum nationes Grecis permiserunt condere, sibimet commercia prestaturos," V (32).

the newcomers had to stop, because there was a revolt in the city and they could find no countrymen of their own to help them, and the Scythians could not and would not help them to build an emporium in the Greek fashion. The result of this revolt was a shrinking of the city to its present form."[1]

The forger whom Jordanes quoted misunderstood this very simple and correct account, because he knew from Herodotus that *Borysthenitae* was the name of agricultural Scythians above Borysthenis;[2] hence he jumped to the conclusion that the Borysthenitae, that is, the inhabitants of Borysthenis, whom Dio visited, were those very Getae who were almost like Greeks. That the source which Jordanes quoted drew directly from Dio Chrysostom is proved by the continuation of the passage in Jordanes, where we suddenly hear that the Getae or Gothi worshiped Mars, which made them very warlike and bloodthirsty, but it was only along the Pontus that they became more civilized and wise and were divided into families, the Visigoths being of the family of Balthi, the Ostrogoths, of the family of Amali.

[1] «Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ τῶν Βορυσθενιτῶν τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν οὐ πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν δόξαν διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς ἁλώσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους· ἅτε γὰρ ἐν μέσοις οἰκοῦσα τοῖς βαρβάροις τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τούτοις σχεδόν τι τοῖς πολεμικωτάτοις, ἀεὶ μὲν πολεμεῖται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑάλω· τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν καὶ μεγίστην ἅλωσιν οὐ πρὸ πλειόνων ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν· εἷλον δὲ καὶ ταύτην Γέται καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις μέχρι Ἀπολλωνίας· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ταπεινὰ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη τῶν ταύτῃ Ἑλλήνων, τῶν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικισθεισῶν πόλεων, τῶν δὲ φαύλως, καὶ τῶν πλείστων βαρβάρων εἰς αὐτὰς συρρυέντων· πολλαὶ γὰρ δή τινες ἁλώσεις κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη γεγόνασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἅτε ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις διεσπαρμένης. Ἀλόντες δὲ τότε οἱ Βορυσθενῖται πάλιν συνῴκησαν, ἐθελόντων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν Σκυθῶν διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῆς ἐμπορίας καὶ τοῦ κατάπλου τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐπαύσαντο γὰρ εἰσπλέοντες ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁμοφώνους τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους οὐδὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀξιούντων οὐδὲ ἐπισταμένων ἐμπόριον αὐτῶν κατασκευάσασθαι τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον. Σημεῖον δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἥ τε φαυλότης τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τὸ συνεστάλθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐς βραχύ,» *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[2] «Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί τοὺς Ἕλληνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεῖτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας,» IV. 18.

This reference to Mars and the warlike spirit of the Goths is again due to a misunderstanding of a passage in Dio Chrysostom. He says that the Borysthenitae are particularly fond of Homer, whom they know by heart, because they themselves are still warlike, and that they for the same reason built a temple to Achilles on an island of that name. Then Dio asked Callistratus, to whom he was speaking, whether Homer was a better poet than Phocylides; to which Callistratus answered that he did not even know that name and that he only knew Homer, whom all their poets mentioned in their poems, especially when they were about to go to war."[1]

The forger, Jordanes or his source, showed no critical acumen when he made Dicineus precede Zamolxis, because Zamolxis is already mentioned by Herodotus and in another passage Jordanes tells us that Dicineus lived in the days of Sulla. This passage runs as follows: "When Buruista was king, Dicineus came to Gothia, in the days when the Roman Sulla seized the government. Buruista received Dicineus and gave him almost royal power. By his advice the Goths laid waste the lands of the Germans which the Franks now occupy. But Caesar, who was the first to vindicate to himself the Roman Empire and subjected nearly the whole world to his rule and conquered all kingdoms, so that he occupied the islands of the sea beyond our world

[1] «Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ Βορυσθενῖται περὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐσπουδάκασιν ἴσως διὰ τὸ πολεμικοὶ εἶναι ἔτι νῦν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα εὔνοιαν· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς τιμῶσι, καὶ νεὼν τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως καλουμένῃ ἵδρυνται, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου θέλουσιν ἢ Ὁμήρου· καὶ τἆλλα οὐκέτι σαφῶς ἑλληνίζοντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μέσοις οἰκεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅμως τήν γε Ἰλιάδα ὀλίγου πάντες ἴσασιν ἀπὸ στόματος. Εἶπον οὖν προσπαίζων πρὸς αὐτόν, Πότερόν σοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Καλλίστρατε, ἀμείνων ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἢ Φωκυλίδης; καὶ ὃς γελάσας ἔφη, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπίσταμαι ἔγωγε τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιητοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, οἶμαι δὲ μηδὲ τούτων μηδένα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡγούμεθα ἡμεῖς ἄλλον τινὰ ποιητὴν ἢ Ὅμηρον· τοῦτον δὲ σχεδόν τι οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· μόνου γὰρ Ὁμήρου μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν εἰώθασι λέγειν, ἀεὶ δὲ ὁπόταν μέλλωσι μάχεσθαι,» *op. cit.*, p. 3 f.

and made those tributaries of Rome who had never heard the name of Rome, none the less, in spite of frequent trials, was unable to subjugate the Goths. Gaius Tiberius now rules as the third over Rome, but the Goths persevere even under his reign." Then follows a long list of things which Dicineus, the consiliarius of the Goths, taught the people. He instructed them in philosophy and ethics. "He taught them physics and made them live naturally by their own laws, which were written down and still exist under the name of *belagines*." He taught them logic, *theoretice*, *practice*, astronomy. He elected the noblest and wisest among them, instructed them in theology, and appointed them priests, and "gave them the name of *pilleati*, because, I think, they sacrificed with their heads covered with tiaras, which we call by another name, *pillei*. But the rest of the people he ordered to be called *capillati*, which name the Goths considered honorific and still praise in their songs."[1]

[1] "Dehinc regnante Gothis Buruista Dicineus venit in Gothiam, quo tempore Romanorum Sylla potitus est principatum. quem Dicineum suscipiens Buruista dedit ei pene regiam potestatem; cuius consilio Gothi Germanorum terras, quas nunc Franci optinent, populati sunt. Caesar vero, qui sibi primus omnium Romanum vindicavit imperium et pene omnem mundum suae dicioni subegit omniaque regna perdomuit, adeo ut extra nostro urbe in oceani sinu repositas insulas occuparet, et nec nomen Romanorum auditu qui noverant, eos Romanis tributarios faceret, Gothos tamen crebro pertemptans nequivit subicere. Gaius Tiberius iam tertius regnat Romanis: Gothi tamen suo regno incolume perseverant. quibus hoc erat salubre, hoc adcommodum, hoc votivum, ut, quidquid Dicineus eorum consiliarius precepisset, hoc modis omnibus expetendum, hoc utile iudicantes, effectui manciparent. qui cernens eorum animos sibi in omnibus oboedire et naturalem eos habere ingenium, omnem pene phylosophiam eos instruxit: erat namque huius rei magister peritus. nam ethicam eos erudiens barbaricos mores conpescuit: fysicam tradens naturaliter propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas usque nunc conscriptas belagines nuncupant; logicam instruens rationis eos supra ceteras gentes fecit expertes; practicen ostendens in bonis actibus conversare suasit; theoreticen demonstrans signorum duodecem et per ea planetarum cursus omnemque astronomiam contemplari edocuit, et quomodo lunaris urbis augmentum sustinet aut patitur detrimentum, edixit, solisque globum igneum quantum terreno orbe in mensura excedat, ostendit, aut quibus nominibus vel quibus signis in polo caeli vergente et revergente trecentae quadraginta et sex stellae ab ortu in occasu precipites ruant, exposuit. qualis erat, rogo, voluptas, ut viri for-

The story of King Buruista and Dicineus arose in an amusing way out of Dio's *Βορυσθενιτικός*. Dio says that the city of the Borysthenitae was seized by the Getae more than one hundred and fifty years ago. As Dio lived at the end of the first century A. D., this incident falls in the days of Sulla. *Borysthenis* produced the eponymous hero, *Buruista*, but whence comes *Dicineus*, who is not mentioned by anyone else? We know of but one great Dacian who extended his rule very far and was considered with awe by his people, and that was Decebalus, that very man, who, in the interpolated passage in Dio Cassius, at first sent *capillati* as messengers, and then sent the nobler *pilleati*. This is precisely what Dicineus does, when he divides his people into *pilleati* and *capillati*. There cannot, therefore, be a shadow of a doubt that *Dicineus* and *Decebalus* are one and the same person.

This *Decebalus* lived at the end of the first century A. D. Dio Cassius says that he was a remarkable man, a great engineer, and a worthy antagonist of the Romans. "I call them Dacians, although I am aware that some Greeks, whether right or wrong, call them Getae, but I know that the Getae live above the Haemus, near the River Ister."[1] Apparently, *Decebalus*, also

tissimi, quando ab armis quantolumcumque vacassent, doctrinis philosophicis inbuebantur? videris unum caeli positionem, alium herbarum fruticumque explorare naturas, istum lunae commoda incommodaque, illum solis labores adtendere et quomodo rotatu caeli raptos retro reduci ad partem occiduam, qui ad orientalem plagam ire festinant, ratione accepta quiescere. haec et alia nonnulla Dicineus Gothis sua peritia tradens mirabilis apud eos enituit, ut non solu mediocribus, immo et regibus imperaret. elegit namque ex eis tunc nobilissimos prudentioresque viros, quos theologiam instruens, numina quaedam et sacella venerare suasit fecitque sacerdotes, nomen illis pilleatorum contradens, ut reor, quia opertis capitibus tyaris, quos pilleos alio nomine nuncupamus, litabant: reliquam vero gentem capillatos dicere iussit, quod nomen Gothi pro magno suscipientes adhuc odie suis cantionibus reminiscent," XI (67–72).

[1] «Μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακοὺς ἐγένετο, ὧν τότε Δεκέβαλος ἐβασίλευε, δεινὸς μὲν συνεῖναι τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρᾶξαι, ἐπελθεῖν εὔστοχος ἀναχωρῆσαι καίριος, ἐνέδρας τεχνίτης μάχης ἐργάτης, καὶ καλῶς μὲν νίκῃ χρήσασθαι καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἧτταν διαθέσθαι εἰ-

written *Decibalus*, reached the forger in the form *Deciualus*, which he read *Decinaius*, which produced *Decinaeus* and *Dicineus*, as recorded in Jordanes.

Buruista, read *Burvista*, produced *Βυριβίστας*, *Βοιρεβίστας* in several interpolated passages in Strabo, where he is also associated with Decaeneus. After telling the story of Zamolxis, who lived in a cave, where, as a counselor of God, he promulgated his edicts and himself became a counselor of the king, there comes, as a postscript, the statement that when Byrebistas was king of the Getae, against whom divine Caesar fought, Decaeneus held that office.[1] In another passage we have a more elaborate account of Byrebistas and the magician Decaeneus. Here the statement that Byrebistas was oppressed by sedition at once shows that the sedition of Borysthenis has now become a sedition against Byrebistas.[2] In another

δώς· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἀξιόμαχος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο. Δακοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύω, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί σφας ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τινὲς Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε καί με λέγοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἵμου παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον οἰκοῦντας,» *op. cit.*, p. 170 f.

[1] «Λέγεται γάρ τινα τῶν Γετῶν, ὄνομα Ζάμολξιν, δουλεῦσαι Πυθαγόρᾳ, καί τινα τῶν οὐρανίων παρ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, πλανηθέντα καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο· ἐπανελθόντα δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ ἔθνει, προλέγοντα τὰς ἐπισημασίας· τελευτῶντα δὲ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, ὡς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἱκανόν· καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἱερέα κατασταθῆναι τοῦ μάλιστα τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Θεὸν προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ καταλαβόντα ἀντρῶδές τι χωρίον ἄβατον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνταῦθα διαιτᾶσθαι, σπάνιον ἐντυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκτός, πλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων· συμπράττειν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, ὁρῶντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσέχοντας ἑαυτῷ, πολὺ πλέον ἢ πρότερον, ὡς ἐκφέροντι τὰ προστάγματα κατὰ συμβουλὴν θεῶν. Τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἔθος διέτεινεν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀεί τινος εὑρισκομένου τοιούτου τὸ ἦθος, ὃς τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ σύμβουλος ὑπῆρχε, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γέταις ὠνομάζετο Θεός· καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὑπελήφθη ἱερόν, καὶ προσαγορεύουσιν οὕτως· ὄνομα δ' αὐτῷ Κωγαίονον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ· καὶ δὴ ὅτε Βυρεβίστας ἦρχε τῶν Γετῶν, ἐφ' ὃν ἤδη παρεσκευάσατο Καῖσαρ ὁ Θεὸς στρατεύειν, Δεκαίνεος εἶχε ταύτην τὴν τιμήν· καί πως τὸ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι Πυθαγόρειον τοῦ Ζαμόλξιος ἔμεινε παραδοθέν,» VII. 3. 5.

[2] «Τῶν δὴ Γετῶν τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ ἀφείσθω, τὰ δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρξε. Βοιρεβίστας, ἀνὴρ Γέτης, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιστασίαν, ἀνέλαβε κεκακωμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ συχνῶν πολέμων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρεν ἀσκήσει καὶ νήψει καὶ τῷ προσέχειν τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ὥστ' ὀλίγων

place, where there is reference to great seers, we have the interpolation: "*παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Ζάμολξις, Πυθαγόρειός τις, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ὁ τῷ Βυρεβίστᾳ θεσπίζων Δεκαίνεος.*"[1]

As Decinaeus, from his association with the *pilleati* and *capillati*, could have arisen only from the interpolated passage in Dio Cassius, through a misunderstanding of Dio Chrysostom's reference to hairy Borysthenitae and Getae wearing hats, the passage in Strabo can be nothing but an interpolation, because Strabo died before either of them wrote. As the statement in Jordanes that the reign of Buruista fell in the reign of Sulla is identical with the statement in Dio Chrysostom that Borysthenis was captured by the Getae about the time of Sulla, the assertion of Strabo

ἐτῶν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν κατεστήσατο, καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων τοὺς πλείστους ὑπέταξε τοῖς Γέταις· ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φοβερὸς ἦν, διαβαίνων ἀδεῶς τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην λεηλατῶν μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, τούς τε Κελτοὺς τοὺς ἀναμεμιγμένους τοῖς τε Θραξὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐξεπόρθησε, Βοίους δὲ καὶ ἄρδην ἠφάνισε τοὺς ὑπὸ Κριτασίρῳ καὶ Ταυρίσκους· πρὸς δὲ τὴν εὐπείθειαν τοῦ ἔθνους συναγωνιστὴν ἔσχε Δεκαίνεον ἄνδρα γόητα, καὶ πεπλανημένον κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ προσημασίας ἐκμεμαθηκότα τινάς, δι' ὧν ὑπεκρίνετο τὰ θεῖα· καὶ δι' ὀλίγου καθίστατο Θεός, καθάπερ ἔφαμεν περὶ τοῦ Ζαμόλξεως διηγούμενοι· τῆς δ' εὐπειθείας σημεῖον· ἐπείσθησαν γὰρ ἐκκόψαι τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ζῆν οἴνου χωρίς· ὁ μὲν οὖν Βοιρεβίστας ἔφθη καταλυθεὶς ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ τινων, πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους στεῖλαι στρατείαν ἐπ' αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς πλείω μέρη διέστησαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἡνίκα ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείαν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ, εἰς πέντε μερίδας, τότε δὲ εἰς τέσσαρας διεστῶτες ἐτύγχανον· οἱ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι μερισμοὶ πρόσκαιροι καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοι. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς χώρας μερισμὸς συμμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Δακοὺς προσαγορεύουσι, τοὺς δὲ Γέτας. Γέτας μὲν τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον κεκλιμένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕω, Δακοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τἀναντία πρὸς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἴστρου πηγάς, οὓς οἶμαι Δάους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπεπόλασε τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀνόματα Γέται καὶ Δάοι· τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν, οὓς καλοῦσι Δάας· πόρρω γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκεῖθεν κομίζεσθαι ἀνδράποδα εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἐκομίζετο, ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις ὁμωνύμους ἐκάλουν τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὥς Λυδὸν καὶ Σύρον, ἢ τοῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἐκεῖ ὀνόμασι προσηγόρευον, ὡς Μάνην ἢ Μίδαν τὸν Φρύγα, Τίβιον δὲ τὸν Παφλαγόνα· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Βοιρεβίστα τὸ ἔθνος ἐξαρθὲν ἐταπεινώθη τελέως ὑπό τε τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων· ἱκανοὶ δ' ὅμως εἰσὶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν στέλλειν τέτταρας μυριάδας,» VII. 3. 11–12.

[1] XVI. 2. 39.

that Byrebistas lived in his time is impossible, even if there existed such a king. Hence the whole story is a late interpolation in Strabo.

Who does not see that, according to Jordanes, Dicineus teaches the Goths the Aristotelean categories as understood by the Arabs? The forger fortunately gives himself away when he informs us that the laws given by Dicineus still exist in written form and are called *belagines*, for here we have a Koranic story. Here we frequently find the word ﺑﻼﻍ *balāgun* "the bringing, conveyance, delivery, or communication of a message; what is communicated or announced of the Koran and of the statutes and ordinances." Even Muellenhoff had to acknowledge that it was quite impossible for the statement in Jordanes to be true, because, according to Isidore of Seville, there were no written Gothic laws before 484.[1] Thus we get the positive and incontrovertible proof that Jordanes wrote his *Getica* after 711.

It is most likely that AS. *lagu* "law" is merely a contraction of *belago*. *Lagu* does not occur in ASaxon before the end of the tenth century, and *bilage* "by-law," recorded later, is, no doubt, older. The total absence of the word from OHGerman and the presence of *bylag* in Scandinavian, by the side of ONorse *lög* "law," make it certain that AS. *lagu* is a late book word, which passed into ONorse.

The sources from which Jordanes quoted had made a mess of Decebalus, by associating him as Dicineus with Buruista, on account of the statement in Dio Chrysostom that the Getae sacked Borysthenis in the days of Sulla. The forger still had Decebalus on hand in connection with Domitian's Dacian wars. To fill out the space from Sulla to Domitian, he invented two

[1] *MGH., op. cit.*, p. 181, sub *belagines*.

Gothic kings, Comosicus and Coryllus, of whom Jordanes has not much to say.[1] He merely uses them as fillers to pass over to Decebalus in the days of Domitian, through the significant phrase, "longum namque post intervallum Domitiano imperatore regnante." Here we can again see that the original source from which Jordanes, or Ablabius, whom he quotes as a historian of the Goths, drew his information, was written in Arabic. Decebalus is once recorded as Δεκέβανος.[2] This Δεκέβανος would be written in Arabic as دقبنس. Reading ق as ر this دقبنس would be transcribed as *Durpanus*, or some such word. So, all of a sudden, we have in Jordanes a story about King Dorpaneus, who defeated the Romans under Domitian. The Goths then seized much booty and called their chiefs, by whose fortune they carried off the victory, not simple men, but demigods, that is, *Anses*.[3]

Here the forger once more gave himself away, for *Anses* is nothing more than Arab. انس *'anas*, انس *'ins* "a chosen, select, particular friend or companion, one with whom one is sociable," انيس *'anīs* "a sociable, companionable, familiar person," انس *'ānas* "a

[1] XI (73), XII (74, 75).

[2] Boissevain, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[3] "Longum namque post intervallum Domitiano imperatore regnante eiusque avaritiam metuentes foedus, quod dudum cum aliis principibus pepigerant, Gothi solventes, ripam Danubii iam longe possessam ab imperio Romano deletis militibus cum eorum ducibus vastaverunt. cui provinciae tunc post Agrippam Oppius praeerat Savinus, Gothis autem Dorpaneus principatum agebat, quando bello commisso Gothi, Romanos devictos, Oppii Savini caput abscisum, multa castella et civitates invadentes de parte imperatoris publice depraedarunt. qua necessitate suorum Domitianus cum omni virtute sua Illyricum properavit et totius pene rei publicae militibus ductore Fusco praelato cum lectissimis viris amnem Danubii consertis navibus ad instar pontis transmeare coegit super exercitum Dorpanei. tum Gothi haut segnes reperti arma capessunt primoque conflictu mox Romanos devincunt, Fuscoque duce extincto divitias de castris militum spoliant magnaque potiti per loca victoria iam proceres suos, quorum quasi fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed semideos id est Ansis vocaverunt," XIII (76–78).

closer companion." Freytag translates *'ins* by "intimus, socius," *'anas* by "is quo familiariter uteris," *'anīs* by "eiusdem quasi indolis et spiritus, consuetudine et moribus coniunctus, familiaris sodalis." The Latin translator of the Arabic source found Decebalus addressing his chiefs with one of these forms, from the root انس *'anisa* "familiariter usus est," instead of the more common انسان *'insān* "man," and jumped to the conclusion that the Goths called their heroes by a more select name, which he rendered into Latin by "semidei." This *anses* produced the ONorse *áss*, AS. *ōs* "god, divinity," which is not represented in OHGerman.

The story of Dorpaneus is told already in Orosius, where it is ascribed to Cornelius Tacitus.[1] We shall later see that the *Germania* of Tacitus is a forgery, and that his *Annales* and *Historiae* are, to say the least, full of interpolations, hence this reference in Pseudo-Orosius is of no avail. The total absence of the name in the Latin writers, for Suetonius[2] and Eutropius[3] mention the Roman generals, Fuscus and Sabinus, given by Jordanes, but not the name of the Dacian king, is fatal to the assumption that Tacitus had any such story. Dio Cassius has no reference whatsoever to Dorpaneus, but we can see how this name has backed from the Latin into the Greek sources. Petrus Patricius connects, as he should, Fuscus with Decebalus, but the *Fragmenta Valesiana*, misled by the Arabicized *Durpaneus*, split the person into two, into Duras and Decebalus, and, without

[1] "Nam quanta fuerint Diurpanei Dacorum regis cum Fusco duce proelia quantaeque Romanorum clades, longo textu euoluerem, nisi Cornelius Tacitus, qui hanc historiam diligentissime contexuit, de reticendo interfectorum numero et Sallustium Crispum et alios auctores quamplurimos sanxisse et se ipsum idem potissimum elegisse dixisset," VII. 10. 4.

[2] *Domitianus*, VI.

[3] VII. 23.

rhyme or reason, inserted into Dio Cassius a phrase about Duras of his own free will transferring his hegemony to Decebalus.[1]

Isidore of Seville has a delightful etymology for the name of the *Gipedes:* "*Gipedes* pedestri proelio magis quam equestre sunt usi, ex hac causa vocati."[2] Because *Gipedes* breaks up into *gi* + *pedes*, therefore they fight on foot rather than on horseback. The natural conclusion is that they are slow and inferior to men using horses. The Arabic prototype of Jordanes has vastly improved on Isidore. According to him, the Gepidae and Goths were relatives, who came in three ships to Gothiscandza. One of these ships, which was slower, gave the name to the nation, for in their language "slower" is called *gepanta.* From a corruption of this word came the name of the Gepidae, who are of slow intelligence and slow in movements. These Gepidae demanded lands from Ostrogotha, the king of the Goths, or they would wage war upon them. Ostrogotha, being of solid mind, said that he preferred war. The greater vivacity of the Goths made them victorious over the slower Gepidae, who were defeated once for all.[3]

[1] «"Οτι Δούρας, οὗ ἡγεμονία ἐγίγνετο, ἑκὼν αὐτῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ τῷ Δακῶν βασιλεῖ ὅτι δεινός,» Boissevain, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[2] *Etymologiae*, IX. 2. 92.

[3] "Abhinc ergo, ut dicebamus, post longam obsidionem accepto praemio ditatus Geta recessit ad propria. quem cernens Gepidarum natio subito ubique vincentem praedisque ditatum, invidia ductus arma in parentibus movit. quomodo vero Getae Gepidasque sint parentes si quaeris, paucis absolvam. meminisse debes me in initio de Scandzae insulae gremio Gothos dixisse egressos cum Berich rege suo, tribus tantum navibus vectos ad ripam Oceani citerioris, id est Gothiscandza. quarum trium una navis, ut adsolet, tardior nancta nomen genti fertur dedisse; nam lingua eorum pigra gepanta dicitur. hinc factum est, ut paulatim et corruptae nomen eis ex convicio nasceretur Gepidas. nam sine dubio ex Gothorum prosapie et hi trahent originem; sed quia, ut dixi, gepanta pigrum aliquid tardumque designat, pro gratuito convicio Gepidarum nomen exortum est, quod nec ipsud credo falsissimum: sunt etenim tardioris ingenii et graviores corporum velocitate. hi ergo Gepidae tacti invidia, dum Spesis provincia commanerent in insulam Visclae amnis vadibus circumactam, quam patrio sermone dicebant Gepedoios. nunc eam, ut fertur, insulam gens Vividaria incolit ipsis

But *gepanta* is merely a transliteration of Arab. غبانة *gabānaṭ* "to become deficient in judgment, to be weak, to lose one's mind, weakness of judgment."

Jordanes tells of Geberich, the son of Hilderith, the king of the Goths, who wished to extend his rule into the Vandal country, which then was in the region now occupied by the Gepidae, somewhere north of the Danube. So he decided to wage war against Visimar, their king, who was of the race of Asdingi, which famous race is most warlike, according to Dexippus, the historian.[1] In another place the Astringi are

ad meliores terras meantibus. qui Vividarii ex diversis nationibus ac si in unum asylum collecti sunt et gentem fecisse noscuntur. ergo, ut dicebamus, Gepidarum rex Fastida quietam gentem excitans patrios fines per arma dilatavit. nam Burgundzones pene usque ad internicionem delevit aliasque nonnullas gentes perdomuit. Gothos quoque male provocans consanguinitatis foedus prius inportuna concertatione violavit superba admodum elatione iactatus, crescenti populo dum terras coepit addere, incolas patrios reddidit rariores. is ergo missis legatis ad Ostrogotham, cuius adhuc imperio tam Ostrogothae quam Vesegothae, id est utrique eiusdam gentes populi, subiacebant, inclusum se montium quaeritans asperitate silvarumque densitate constrictum, unum poscens e duobus, ut aut bellum sibi aut locorum suorum spatia praepararet. tunc Ostrogotha rex Gothorum ut erat solidi animi, respondit legatis bellum se quidem talem horrere durumque fore et omnino scelestum armis confligere cum propinquis, loca vero non cedere. quid multa? Gepidas in bella inruunt, contra quos, ne minor iudicaretur, movit et Ostrogotha procinctum, conveniuntque ad oppidum Galtis, iuxta quod currit fluvius Auha, ibique magna partium virtute certatum est, quippe quos in se et armorum et pugnandi similitudo commoverat; sed causa melior vivacitasque ingenii iubit Gothos. inclinata denique parte Gepidarum proelium nox diremit. tunc relicta suorum strage Fastida rex Gepidarum properavit ad patriam, tam pudendis obprobriis humiliatus, quam fuerat elationis erectus. redeunt victores Gothi Gepidarum discessione contenti, suaque in patria feliciter in pace versantur, usque dum eorum praevius existeret Ostrogotha," XVII (94–100).

[1] "Nam hic Hilderith patre natus, avo Ovida, proavo Nidada, gloriam generis sui factis illustribus exaequavit. primitias regni sui mox in Vandalica gente extendere cupiens contra Visimar eorum rege qui Asdingorum stirpe, quod inter eos eminet genusque indicat bellicosissimum, Deuxippo storico referente, qui eos ab Oceano ad nostrum limitem vix in anni spatio pervenisse testatur prae nimia terrarum inmensitate. quo tempore erant in eo loco manentes, ubi nunc Gepidas sedent, iuxta flumina Marisia, Miliare et Gilpil et Grisia, qui omnes supra dictos excedet. erat namque illis tunc ab oriente Gothus, ab occidente Marcomanus, a septentrione Hermundolus, a meridie Histrum, qui et Danubius dicitur. hic ergo Vandalis commorantibus bellum indictum est a Geberich rege Gothorum ad litus praedicti amnis Marisiae, ubi nec diu certatum est ex aequali, sed mox ipse rex Vandalorum

mentioned together with the Carpi, a most warlike kind of people.[1]

This account of the Vandal war of the Goths is based on no historic fact, except as to the haphazard choice of names. Dexippus, whom Jordanes quotes, knows only of the defeat of the Vandals beyond the Danube by Aurelianus, and *Hilderith* is recorded as *Hildericus*, a Vandal king in 531 in Africa, when he is brought in contact with the *Asdingi;* but *Asdingi* is an Arabic word, and all the passages where the word occurs are interpolations or forgeries.

Isidore's Chronicle refers to Childericus, the son of Valentinian's captive daughter, who took up the reign among the Vandals in 523.[2] This account is given in full in Victor's Chronicle, where it says that this daughter of Valentinian had been captured by Giseric and married to Ugneric.[3] It is right here that we have a series of interpolations in the *De bello vandalico* of Procopius. Gelimer, the warlike Vandal, persuaded his nation to depose Hilderich and put him on the throne; then he seized Hilderich and *Hoamer* and his brother Euagees, and imprisoned them.[4] Some of the manu-

Visimar magna parte cum gentis suae prosternitur. Geberich vero Gothorum ductor eximius superatis depraedatisque Vandalis ad propria loca, unde exierat, remeavit. tunc perpauci Vandali, qui evasissent, collecta inbellium suorum manu, infortunata patria relinquentes Pannoniam sibi a Constantino principe petierunt ibique per LX annos plus minus sedibus locatis imperatorum decretis ut incolae famularunt. unde iam post longum ab Stiliconae mag. mil. et ex consule atque patricio invitati Gallias occupaverunt, ubi finitimos depraedantes non adeo fixas sedes habuerunt," XXII (113–115).

[1] "Qui excipiens eos eorumque verbis accensus mox tricenta milia suorum armata produxit ad bellum adhibitis sibi Taifalis et Astringis nonnullis, sed et Carporum trea milia, genus hominum ad bella nimis expeditum, qui saepe fuere Romanis infesti; quos tamen post haec imperante Dioclitiano et Maximiano Galerius Maximinus Caesar devicit et rei publicae Romanae subegit," XVI (91).

[2] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 475.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[4] «Οὕτω δὴ Γελίμερ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἱλδέριχόν τε, ἕβδομον ἔτος Βανδίλων ἄρξαντα, καὶ Ὁάμερα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐαγέην ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν,» I. 9. 9, J. Haury, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Lipsiae 1905, vol. I, p. 352.

scripts write "'*Οάμερα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Εὐαγέην*," making Hoamer Hilderich's brother. A little further down we are told that Gelimer deprived Hoamer of his eyes.[1] In the beginning of the account of Hilderich there is the statement, inserted without rhyme or reason, that *Hoamer*, Hilderich's nephew, was a good man, who was in charge of the armies whenever the Vandals waged war, and that the Vandals called him Achilles.[2]

Nothing can be clearer than that the interpolation is taken out of the Gothic *Antiquitas*, where *Homer*, *Achilles*, and the leadership in war were ascribed to the Goths, through the misunderstanding of the passage in Dio Chrysostom, as discussed before. The story must have found its way into Procopius before the ninth century, because Theophanes quotes it in full,[3] if, indeed, it was not inserted in Procopius from Theophanes; but Zonaras, who directly refers to Procopius in quoting the story, has nothing to say about Hoamer or his blindness or his being an Achilles.

Now, the Gothic *Antiquitas* distorted another passage from Dio Chrysostom, by making the hat-wearing Goths the noblest of the race, whom, by distorting the Gr. *τοὺς ἀρίστους*, Jordanes called *Tarabosteseos*. It appears, from a large number of interpolated passages, that the *Antiquitas* also had the Arabic name for these noblest of the race, namely, عظيم الجاه *'aẓīm–'il-ǵāh* "esteemed great, glorious, incomparable,"[4] which produced the Latinized *Astingus*, *Asdingus* "the glorious."

[1] «Γελίμερ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τόν τε 'Οάμερα ἐξετύφλωσε τόν τε 'Ιλδέριχον καὶ Εὐαγέην ἐν μείζονι φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο,» I. 9. 14, *ibid.*, p. 353.

[2] «'Οάμερ γοῦν ἀνεψιός τε ὢν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει ἐφ' οὓς ἂν στρατεύοιντο Βανδ λοι, ὃν δὴ καὶ 'Αχιλλέα Βανδίλων ξκάλουν,» I. 9. 2, *ibid.*, p. 351.

[3] *Chronographia*, in *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 289 ff.

[4] So given in the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (Seybold), sub *nobilis*.

This term was originally applied to Hoamer, who is mentioned as *Asdingus* in the *Chronica* of Victor Tonnenensis under the year 531: "Geilimer apud Africam regnum cum tyrannide sumit et Carthaginem ingressus Hildericum regno privat et cum filiis custodiae mancipat atque *Oamer Asdingum* multosque nobilium perimit."[1] Isidore of Seville not only knew this Chronicle,[2] but also quoted this in full in his *Historia Vandalorum.* Here, however, there is no reference whatsoever to *Asdingus*,[3] because Isidore did not find it in his text; hence it can only be an insertion in the other *Chronica*, for which we have no early manuscripts.

Asdingus at first was taken in its glossarial sense of "noble," and as such entered as an interpolation into Joannes Lydus' *De magistratibus*, where Justinian is made to exhibit Gelimer with his nobles, "whom the barbarians call *Astingi.*"[4] Immediately after the Vandals, Lydus refers to the Sygambri, after which comes another interpolation, "whom those near the Rhine and Rhone call Franci from their leader," a statement of doubtful genuineness in Isidore, since it is first recorded in the writings of the eighth century. This *Asdingus* was also smuggled into Dracontius' *Satisfactio*, where the lines,

Ut qui facta ducum possem narrare meorum,
Unde mihi possent dona venire simul,
Praemia despicerem, tacitis tot regibus almis,

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 198, and again: "superans Gunthimer et Gebamundum *Asdingos* regis fratres," *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

[3] "Gilimer regnum cum tyrannide sumit multos nobilium Africae provinciae crudeliter extinguens. . . . Gunthimerum et Gebamundum regis fratres primo proelio superatos interficit," *ibid.*, p. 299.

[4] «Παρεστήσατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ, Γελίμερα αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τοῦ ἔθνους, οὓς ἐκάλουν ἀ σ τ ί γ γ ο υ ς οἱ βάρβαροι,» III. 55.

of a manuscript as published by Sirmond, were corrected to the adopted reading, as genuine (!):

Ut qui facta ducum possem narrare meorum,
Nominis Asdingui bella triumphigera,
Unde mihi merces posset cum laude salutis
Munere regnantis magna venire simul,
Praemia despicerem, tacitis tot regibus almis.[1]

It is obvious that a later hand broke up one line into three, in order to introduce the precious word *Asdingus*. I shall at a future time show how this *Asdingus* of the Gothic *Antiquitas* led in England to the *clito* and *apeling* of the legal documents.

In Jordanes the *Asdingi* are taken to be a warlike tribe somewhere to the north of Byzantium. This is precisely the meaning ascribed to the Ἀστίγγοι in two extracts, one ascribed to Petrus Patricius,[2] the other in the *Ursiniana*,[3] both supposed to be sixth century excerpts from Dio Cassius. As they are not mentioned anywhere else, and as Jordanes speaks of a "stirps *Asdingorum* quod inter eos eminet genusque indicat bellicosissimum," there cannot be any doubt that we have before us much later interpolations, or corruptions, for some other word. That they are most likely interpolations is to be assumed from the reference in Cassiodorus' *Variae* to Hilderich as "inter *Hasdingorum* stirpem,"[4] where the *Asdingi* are again, as in Procopius, correlated with the Vandal Hilderich. But the *Variae* are, to say the least, boldly interpolated, if not entirely a forgery, as will be shown at another time.

The Huns, according to the *Antiquitas*, had the following mythical origin: Filimer, the king of the Goths,

[1] F. A. de Lorenzana, *Dracontii Carmina*, Romae 1790, p. 371.
[2] Boissevain, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[4] IX. 1.

found among his people certain witches, whom he himself called in his native language *Haliurunnae* (*haluirunnae, aliorumnae*). Suspecting them of something, he drove them far away from the army and let them wander in the desert. The impure spirits, roving through the wilderness, saw them and had intercourse with them, and they gave birth to that most ferocious race that at first lived in the swamps. It was these, the Huns, who came to the country of the Goths. According to Priscus, they settled beyond the Maeotide Swamp, given to hunting. A deer once led some Hunnish hunters across the swamp, and revealed to them the lands beyond.[1]

The story about the deer leading the Huns across the Maeotide Swamp is also told by Agathias, Cedrenus, and by Procopius,[2] and is apparently old, for it is,

[1] "Post autem non longi temporis intervallo, ut refert Orosius, Hunnorum gens omni ferocitate atrocior exarsit in Gothos. nam hos, ut refert antiquitas, ita extitisse conperimus. Filimer rex Gothorum et Gadarici magni filius qui post egressu Scandzae insulae iam quinto loco tenens principatum Getarum, qui et terras Scythicas cum sua gente introisse superius a nobis dictum est, repperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone Haliurunnas is ipse cognominat, easque habens suspectas de medio sui proturbat longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas in solitudinem coegit errare. quas spiritus inmundi per herimum vagantes dum vidissent et eorum conplexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc ferocissimum ediderunt, quae fuit primum inter paludes, minutum tetrum atque exile quasi hominum genus nec alia voce notum nisi quod humani sermonis imaginem adsignabat. tali igitur Hunni stirpe creati Gothorum finibus advenerunt. quorum natio saeva, ut Priscus istoricus refert, Meotida palude ulteriore ripa insidens, venationi tantum nec alio labore experta, nisi quod, postquam crevisset in populis, fraudibus et rapinis vicinarum gentium quiete conturbans. huius ergo gentis, ut adsolet, venatores, dum in interioris Meotidae ripam venationes inquirent, animadvertunt, quomodo ex inproviso cerva se illis optulit ingressaque paludem nunc progrediens nunc subsistens index viae se tribuit. quam secuti venatores paludem Meotidam, quem inpervium ut pelagus aestimant, pedibus transierunt. mox quoque Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, cerva disparuit. quod, credo, spiritus illi, unde progeniem trahunt, ad Scytharum invidia id egerunt. illi vero, qui praeter Meotidam alium mundum esse paenitus ignorabant, admiratione ducti terrae Scythicae et, ut sunt sollertes, iter illud nullae ante aetati notissimum divinitus sibi ostensum rati, ad suos redeunt, rei gestum edocent, Scythiam laudant persuasaque gente sua via, qua cerva indice dedicerant, ad Scythiam properant, et quantoscumque prius in ingressu Scytharum habuerunt, litavere victoriae, reliquos perdomitos subegerunt," *Getica*, XXIV (121–125).

[2] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. V[1], p. 90.

with the history of the origin of the Huns, all taken out of Herodotus. "Such is the account the Scythians give of themselves and of the country above them, but the Greeks who inhabit Pontus give the following account: they say that Hercules, as he was driving away the herds of Geryon, arrived in this country, that was then a desert, and which the Scythians now inhabit; that Geryon, fixing his abode outside the Pontus, inhabited the island which the Greeks call Erythia, situate near Gades, beyond the columns of Hercules in the ocean. The ocean, they say, beginning from the sun-rise, flows round the whole earth, but they do not prove it in fact; that Hercules thence came to the country now called Scythia, and as a storm and frost overtook him, he drew his lion's skin over him, and went to sleep, and in the meanwhile his mares, which were feeding apart from his chariot, vanished by some divine chance. They add that when Hercules awoke, he sought for them, and that having gone over the whole country, he at length came to the land called Hylaea; there he found a monster having two natures, half virgin, half viper, of which the upper parts, from the buttocks, resembled a woman, and the lower parts a serpent: when he saw he was astonished, but asked her if she had anywhere seen his strayed mares. She said that she herself had them, and would not restore them to him before she had laid with him: Hercules accordingly lay with her on these terms. She, however, delayed giving back the mares, out of a desire to enjoy the company of Hercules as long as she could; he, however, was desirous of recovering them and departing. At last, as she restored the mares, she said, 'These mares that strayed hither I preserved for you, and you have paid me salvage, for I have three sons by you; tell me, therefore, what must I do with them when they are grown up? whether

shall I establish them here, for I possess the rule over this country, or shall I send them to you?' She asked this question, but he replied, they say, 'When you see the children arrived at the age of men, you can not err if you do this; whichever of them you see able thus to bend this bow, and thus girding himself with this girdle, make him an inhabitant of this country; and whichever fails in these tasks which I enjoin, send out of the country. If you do this, you will please yourself and perform my injunctions.' Then, having drawn out one of his bows, for Hercules carried two at that time, and having shown her the belt, he gave her both the bow and the belt, which had a golden cup at the extremity of the clasp, and having given them, he departed. But she, when the sons who were born to her attained to the age of men, in the first place gave them names: to the first, Agathyrsis; to the second, Gelonus; and to the youngest, Scythes; and, in the next place, remembering the orders, she did what had been enjoined; and two of her sons, Agathyrsis and Gelonus, being unable to come up to the proposed task, left the country, being expelled by their mother; but the youngest of them, Scythes, having accomplished it, remained there. From this Scythes, son of Hercules, are descended those who have been successively kings of the Scythians, and from the cup, the Scythians even to this day wear cups from their belts. This thing only the mother did for Scythes. Such is the account given by the Greeks who inhabit Pontus" (IV. 8-10).[1]

Though Hercules is changed into an evil spirit, his mares have become a deer, the siren is changed to a witch, and the Scythians are identified with the Huns, yet the story is essentially the same. That the story has gone through an Arabic redaction is proved by the

[1] H. Cary, *Herodotus*, New York 1857, p. 239 ff.

name of the witches, which in the reading, *haliurunnae*, *haluirunnae*, at once shows that the original form was *alivruna* = *alibruna* or *alviruna* = *albiruna*, for Arab. البيروح *albairuḥun* or اليبروح *alyabruḥun* "the mandrake." AS. *burhrūna* "sorceress" has preserved the Arabic form almost intact, while in OHGerman *alruna* has preserved only the meaning "mandrake," which at once settles the matter.[1] In Jordanes it has the meaning of the witch who, like Circe, uses the love-filter, made of the roots of the mandrake, in order to entice men and take them to their doom. Even so we have in Greek *κιρκαία* "the witches' plant," which is derived from *Κίρκη* "Circe." In OHGerman we have *helliruna* "necromantia," as though it were composed of *hella* "hell" and *runa* "mystery," and similarly, in ASaxon, *helirun*, *hellrun* "sorcerer." In ONorse we have *ölrún*, apparently only in the sense of "swanmaiden." The story of the poison-maid is not specifically Greek, but originates in India[2] and was known to the Arabs in the eighth century.[3] In any case, *aliurunna* shows conclusively that we have here a connection of the Circe story with the love-filter made from the mandrake. We shall later meet these witches, or magic women, in other forgeries, such as Tacitus' *Germania*.

There is still another interesting Arabic word in Jordanes. Speaking of the wake at Attila's death, Jordanes says, "*stravam* super tumulum eius quam appellant ipsi ingenti commessatione concelebrant."[4] The Germanic and Slavic languages have taken especial liking to this word, and to the idea of "wake" which

[1] But there is here also a confusion with the *arum*. See my *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Philadelphia 1920, vol. I, p. 225.
[2] A. von Gutschmid, *Die nabatäische Landwirthschaft und ihre Geschwister*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XV, p. 95.
[3] *Ibid.*, and vol. XI, p. 325.
[4] XLIX (258).

it connotates, and have adopted it in a variety of ways. I shall, however, begin at the beginning and shall show the successive development of the word.

The Lat. *turpis* is generally related to Sansk. *trap-* "to be ashamed;" but the Pers. *tarfenda* "a lie, falsehood, fraud" shows that the Talmudic תְּרַף *ṭĕrap* "to act shamefully," which is not recorded in Hebrew or any early Semitic document, is a derivation from the Persian, or rather, Old Persian, for in the Zendavesta we have *tarep* "to steal." In the Talmud תַּרְפוּת *ṭarpūṭ* means "a place of shame, the market place where idolatry is practiced." In Arabic ترف *ṭarifa* means "he enjoyed a plentiful, easy, soft life," اترف *'aṭrafa* "he persevered in transgression, wrong doing, deviation from the right way," ترفة *ṭurfaṭ* "plentifulness, a life of ease, good food, a gift to a friend," hence مترف *muṭraf* "one left to do what he will, who behaves proudly, insolently." The latter word is common in the Koran, and quotations from it will show what precise meaning was ascribed to it by the Arabs: "We have sent no warner unto any city, but the inhabitants thereof *who lived in affluence* said, Verily we believe not that with which ye are sent; and those of Makkah also say, We abound in riches and children more than ye, and we shall not be punished hereafter," XXXIV. 33, 34; "thus we sent no preacher before thee unto any city, but the inhabitants thereof, *who lived in affluence*, said, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion, and we tread in their footsteps," XLIII. 22; "for *they enjoyed the pleasures of life* before this, while on earth, and obstinately persisted in a heinous wickedness," LVI. 44, 45; "and

when we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, *who live in affluence*, to obey our apostle, but they acted corruptly therein, wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against that city, and we destroyed it with an utter destruction," XVII. 17; "until when we chastise such of them as *enjoy an affluence of fortune*, by a severe punishment, behold they cry aloud for help," XXIII. 65.

From these quotations it appears clearly that ترفة *ṭurfaṭ* means "abundance of food, superabundance of food, generally connected with heathenish manners, food used at a feast," etc. Now, the reference to *strava* (where the *s* is apparently due to the final *s* of the preceding word, "defletus") shows that it means "a feast at which a great deal is eaten, a heathenish feast." *Strava* found its way from Jordanes into *Codex Vaticanus 1468* and *Codex Casinensis 90*, "*strabam* tumulum sepulchrum,"[1] where it is wrongly glossed. It was used in the form *trebo* in a tenth century addition to the *Leges Baiuwariorum*, where it has the meaning of "food used at heathenish sacrifice," "quisquis idolothita quod *trebo* dicitur, vel obtulerit aut manducaverit,"[2] which is precisely the meaning it has in Arabic and in Jordanes.

Arab. ترف *ṭarifa* was felt as a foreign word and was confused with ترب *ṭariba* "it became dusty," because *tarb* "deceit, fraud" is recorded in Persian, by the side of *tarfenda*. Hence we have not only مترف *muṭraf* "a rich man," but also مترب *muṭrib* "possessing much wealth, rich, without want, having wealth like dust," by the side of its very opposite, recorded in the Koran, مترية *muṭrabaṭ* "the suffering loss, be-

[1] Goetz, vol. V.
[2] *MGH.*, *Leges*, vol. III, p. 487.

coming poor, so as to cleave to the dust, poverty, neediness;" but even مترب *muṭrib* means "possessing little wealth." Hence we have verbal derivatives from ترب *ṭariba*, which mean both "he became rich" and "he became poor," hence ترب *ṭarib* "poor, needy, in want."

The confusion of the two words in Arabic produced the same confusion in the Germanic languages, but the Gothic records only the forms from Arab. ترب *ṭariba*. By the side of *þaurp* "earth," which I have already discussed in full,[1] we have *þaurfts* "need, necessity," *þarbs* "in need," *þarba* "beggar," *þaurban* "to be in need." In OHGerman we have *derb* (brot), recorded in the Hrabanian glosses as "azymae oblationes," that is, as "sacrificial bread." Thus *derb* came to mean "pure, solid," hence *bidarbi* "fine, useful, advantageous," while *unbidarbi* is "useless, vain, empty, superfluous." We have also, as in Arabic, the opposite meaning, *darben* "to want," *durfti* "want," *bidurfan* "to need," *darf* "I need." There is no necessity of discussing the ASaxon and ONorse words of the same group. The philologist, who will be shocked at the appearance of a preterite present verb among the borrowings from the Arabic, will find his pet theory of the antiquity of such verbs shattered by the study of this borrowing in the Slavic languages. In OBulgarian *trêba*, *treba* means "sacrifice, prayer," *trêbê* "to be necessary," *trêbovati* "to need," which show the same relation, while derived from the Bavarian *trebo*, that we find in the OHGerman words, derived directly from the Arabic. At the same time, Jordanes' *strava*, no doubt for *traba*, has produced the OBulg. *strava* "food," which is also found in the other Slavic languages.

[1] See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 190 ff.

Speaking of Scandzia,[1] the island from which the Germanic tribes came, Jordanes refers to Ptolemy as his authority. He says that Ptolemy mentioned seven nations in Scandzia. In reality only one manuscript of Ptolemy, out of a large number, mentions seven nations, the *Φίννοι* being omitted from the rest.[2] As Ptolemy mentions a tribe of *Φίννοι* in Sarmatia (III. 5. 20), it is impossible for him to have made the statement that they occupy the north of *Thule*. The *Finni* are again mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania*; but

[1] "In Scandza vero insula, unde nobis sermo est, licet multae et diversae maneant nationes, septem tamen eorum nomina meminit Ptolemaeus. apium ibi turba mellifica ob nimium frigore nusquam repperitur. in cuius parte arctoa gens Adogit consistit, quae fertur in aestate media quadraginta diebus et noctibus luces habere continuas, itemque brumali tempore eodem dierum noctiumque numero luce clara nescire. ita alternato merore cum gaudio benificio aliis damnoque impar est. et hoc quare? quia prolixioribus diebus solem ad orientem per axis marginem vident redeuntem, brevioribus vero non sic conspicitur apud illos, sed aliter, quia austrinis signis percurrit, et quod nobis videtur sol ab imo surgere, illos per terrae marginem dicitur circuire. aliae vero ibi sunt gentes Screrefennae, que frumentorum non queritant victum, sed carnibus ferarum atque ovis avium vivunt; ubi tanta paludibus fetura ponitur, ut et augmentum prestent generi et satietatem ad cupiam genti. alia vero gens ibi moratur Suehans, quae velud Thyringi equis utuntur eximiis. hi quoque sunt, qui in usibus Romanorum sappherinas pelles commercio interveniente per alias innumeras gentes transmittunt, famosi pellium decora nigridine. hi cum inopes vivunt, ditissime vestiuntur. sequitur deinde diversarum turba nationum, Theustes, Vagoth, Bergio, Hallin, Liothida, quorum omnium sedes sub uno plani ac fertilis, et propterea inibi aliarum gentium incursionibus infestantur. post hos Ahelmil, Finnaithae, Fervir, Gauthigoth, acre hominum genus et at bella prumtissimum. dehinc Mixi, Evagre, Otingis. hi omnes excisis rupibus quasi castellis inhabitant ritu beluino. sunt et his exteriores Ostrogothae, Raumarici, Aeragnaricii, Finni mitissimi, Scandzae cultoribus omnibus mitiores; nec non et pares eorum Vinoviloth; Suetidi, cogniti in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores: quamvis et Dani, ex ipsorum stirpe progressi, Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimia proceritate affectant praecipuum. sunt quamquam et horum positura Grannii, Augandzi, Eunixi, Taetel, Rugi, Arochi, Ranii. quibus non ante multos annos Roduulf rex fuit, qui contempto proprio regno ad Theodorici Gothorum regis gremio convolavit et, ut desiderabat, invenit. hae itaque gentes, Germanis corpore et animo grandiores, pugnabant beluina saevitia," III (19-24).

[2] «Καλεῖται δὲ ἰδίως καὶ αὐτὴ Σκανδία, καὶ κατέχουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν δυτικὰ Χαδεινοί, τὰ δ' ἀνατολικὰ Φαυόναι καὶ Φιραῖσοι, [τὰ δὲ ἀρκτικὰ Φίννοι,] τὰ δὲ μεσημβρινὰ Γοῦται καὶ Δαυκίωνες, τὰ δὲ μέσα Λευῶνοι,» II. 11. 16, C. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, Parisiis 1883, vol. I[1], p. 276.

that is a forgery, so we are left with no basis whatsoever for the race to which later the name of *Finni* was attached.

Jordanes tells of the race of *Adogit* in the north, where the sun does not set for forty days in the summer. In Procopius the same story refers to Thule, where Pliny says long days are followed by long nights.[1] These *Adogit* are very likely Ptolemy's *Ἀλόκιαι*, who are mentioned immediately before the people of Scandia, if they are not the *Attaci* of Pliny, the Hyperboreans of Asia.[2] But the *Finni* owe their origin to a series of misunderstandings. The rare note in Ptolemy was due to a desire to supply the lacking northern region with a tribe. But the usual conception of the extreme north was one of mist and stench, so that even Jordanes speaks of the stagnant ocean which surrounds it and quotes Strabo to the effect that the sea exhales such mists and the soil is so damp from the constant onrush of the sea, that the cloud-covered sun hardly ever offers a whole serene day to view.[3] Apparently an Arabic note to Ptolemy had the statement that in the north there is "putrefaction, miasma," عفن *'afan*, or "putrescent," عفن *'afin*, عفني *'afanī*. The interpolator, mistaking the latter for the name of a tribe, wrote in the *Codex Vaticanus 191*, *τὰ δὲ ἀρκτικὰ Φίννοι*. What aided in the adoption of this word by the Germanic and Romance peoples was one of those strange coincidences which so frequently have decided the fate of an

[1] VI. 219, IV. 104.
[2] IV. 90.
[3] "Mari tardo circumfluam, quod nec remis facile inpellentibus cedat, nec ventorum flatibus intumescat, credo, quia remotae longius terrae causas motibus negant: quippe illic latius quam usquam aequor extenditur. refert autem Strabo Grecorum nobilis scriptor tantas illam exalare nebulas, madefacta humo Oceani crebris excursibus, ut subtectus sol per illum pene totum fediorem, qui serenus est, diem negetur aspectui," II (12).

Arabic word. In Jerome's *Onomastica* we have the gloss, "*Abel* luctus aut vapor siue *uanitas.*"[1] One of the Bible glosses, given in Graff, wrote "*Abel* lutus aut vapor aut *vang.*" The substitution of *lutus* for "luctus," aided by the following "vapor," made it certain that *vang*, that is, *vani*, for "vanitas," also meant "swamp," the whole combination exactly fitting the description of the extreme north. Thus there arose a tribe of *Finni*, utterly unknown before. It is, again, probably no accident that the Finnish name of Finland, *Suomi*, should be derived from a Finnish word, *suo* "swamp." To this I shall return later. But the Arabic word gave rise to Goth. *fani*, OHG. *fenna* "mud," ONorse *fen* "quagmire." In its form *vanga*, *fanga* it gave Ital. *fango*, Fr. *fange*, etc.

Procopius has an account of Scandinavia which does not inspire any confidence in its genuineness. After speaking of the expedition of Narses and Belisarius, in which more than two thousand Heruli took part, we get a long digression on the Heruli and Scandinavia. The Heruli, according to this, originally lived beyond the Danube, worshiping many gods and sacrificing men. They never grew old or died from disease, because when death was impending they had themselves killed by friends, after which they were burned on a funeral pyre, the favored wife of each following him into death. After conquering the Christian Langobards, they settled down to live in peace, but their king, Rodulphus, again attacked the Langobards. After the death of Rodulphus, the Heruli settled in Italy. Then they again crossed the Danube, when Anastasius was king, and settled in Roman territory. Justinian favored them, and they became friends of the Romans. They killed their king, Ochos, and, being unable to live without a king, they resolved to send to

[1] P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, Gottingae 1887.

Thule for a king. They crossed the desert, came to the Danes, who did not trouble them, and set sail for Thule. Then we get an account of the long days and nights in Thule, which Procopius claims to know, not from personal experience, but from the accounts of those who had been there. There are thirteen nations in Thule, of which only one, the Scrithifini, are savage. They wear no clothes, drink no wine, plough no fields. Their babies are fed on the marrow of animals. The rest of the Thulitae are just like other people. They worship Mars and kill their captives. To these Thulitae came the noblest of the Heruli to find somebody of royal blood. They found one and started back with him, but he died when they reached the Danes. Another king was brought them from Thule, by the name of Datius. But the Heruli, who came from Singidonus, were afraid that Justinian would not approve their choice. Indeed, Justinian sent them another king, Suartuas by name, whom they accepted.[1]

The whole account is fishy. Leaving out of consideration the mythical stories about the Heruli and Thulitae, the historical account of what happened in the sixth century is not found recorded anywhere else, except as part of the *Antiquitas*, as we shall soon see. What is fatal to the whole story is the fact that it is referred to once more in a passage in Procopius, which is absent completely from one manuscript. Suartuas is referred to in IV. 25, 11-13, beginning with the words, "the army was in charge of Justin and Justinian, the sons of Germanus, and Aratius and Suartuas, who formerly had been the leader of the Heruli, whom those who returned from Thule accepted, as I told in my former writings," and ending with the words, "as I shall later show in my work." That this is an insertion is shown by the fact that Procopius did not

[1] *De bello gothico*, II. 14, 15.

again refer to the incident, which he said he was going to write about, and that the whole passage, which halts the narrative, just as did the long digression about the Heruli, is not found in the *Codex Ambrosianus N. 135*, that is, in the important *Excerpta Constantiniana*, which do not go back to the one archetype from which all the other manuscripts are derived. Of course, these being merely extracts, it is difficult to say whether or not the original from which, by order of Constantine, the extracts were made, lacked the passage. But it is certainly curious that the passage, which sounds like a later insertion, possibly on the basis of real facts, should alone contain a reference to Suartuas, who is connected with the very doubtful story of the search of a king by the Heruli in Scandinavia.

In the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*[1] the account begins with a description of Scandinavia and the Odin story.[2] Then we have a mythical series of kings. After that we come to the war of the Langobards with the Heruli, preceded by the curious statement that at that time the Langobards lived for three years in the fields of *Feld*. Then Tato fought with Rodolfus, the king of the Heruli, and he killed him, and took his standard and helmet, after which the Heruli had no kingdom.[3]

Paulus Diaconus follows and expands the story in the *Origo*. After telling of Scandinavia, he says that, since he was talking of Germany, he must tell of the wonderful thing that happens there. Then he tells of the Seven Sleepers and passes over to the *Scritobini* (*Scriptofinni*, *Cristobini*, etc.), who are their neighbors.

[1] *MGH., Scrip. rer. lang.*, p. 2.

[2] See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 137 f.

[3] "Et post ipsum regnavit Tato, filius Claffoni. Sederunt Langobardi in campis Feld annos tres. Pugnavit Tato cum Rodolfo rege Herulorum, et occidit eum, tulit vando ipsius et capsidem. Post eum Heruli regnum non habuerunt," *MGH., ibid.*, p. 3.

They live like beasts, eating the flesh of animals, from whose skins they make their garments. They derive their name from "jumping" in the barbarous tongue, for they hunt animals in the woods, by using a piece of wood curved in the form of a bow.[1] Then he tells of the long nights and days. After another digression, he tells the Odin myth, then says that the Langobards were so called from their long beards.[2] Following an account of the early Langobard kings, we at last come to Tato, the seventh king. After leaving Rugiland, the Langobards lived in open fields, which in the barbarous language are called *feld* (*fled*, etc.)[3] Then there arose a war between Tato and Rodulfus, the kings of the Heruli. The cause of the war was this: Rodulfus' brother had gone to Tato to talk about peace. Here he was killed by Tato's daughter, who despised him because of his small stature. This gave rise to the war. The battle took place in the open field. Rodulfus was killed, and the Langobard seized much booty, among which was Rodulfus' banner and his helmet. Since that time the Heruli had no kings.[4]

Jordanes, too, tells of the long days and nights in Scandza, and immediately tells of the *Screrefennae* (*crefenne*, *rerefenne*, etc.), who do not eat corn, but live on meat and eggs. There is another race, the Suehans, who, like the Thuringians, use fine horses. It is they

[1] "Huic loco Scritobini—sic enim gens illa nominatur—vicini sunt. Qui etiam aestatis tempore nivibus non carent, nec aliud, utpote feris ipsis ratione non dispares, quam crudis agrestium animantium carnibus vescuntur; de quorum etiam hirtis pellibus sibi indumenta peraptant. Hi a saliendo iuxta linguam barbaram ethimologiam ducunt. Saltibus enim utentes, arte quadam ligno incurvo ad arcus similitudinem feras adsecuntur," I. 5, *ibid.*, p. 49 f.

[2] "Certum tamen est, Langobardos ab intactae ferro barbae longitudine, cum primis Winnili dicti fuerint, ita postmodum appellatos. Nam iuxta illorum linguam 'lang' longam, 'bart' barbam significat," I. 9, *ibid.*, p. 52 f.

[3] "Defuncto quoque Claffone, Tato, eiusdem filius, septimus ascendit ad regnum. Egressi quoque Langobardi de Rugiland, habitaverunt in campis patentibus, qui sermone barbarico 'feld' appellantur," I. 20, *ibid.*, p. 57.

[4] *Ibid.*

who, through the intermediacy of other nations, furnish the Romans with sappherine furs. They live poorly, but dress themselves richly. Then there are some races who live in beastly fashion in stone caves as in castles. Then there are some meek Finns, and the Suetidi, of huge size, and the Danes, who drove away the Heruli, who consider themselves the chief race on account of their nobility. Then come the Grannii and other nations, over whom Roduulf, who abandoned his country and fled to Theodoric, was king not many years before.[1]

We can now follow up the whole Scandia myth. First of all, it is obvious that the writer of the original *Antiquitas* followed an Arabic prototype, in which the tribes of Arabia were described. We find here several Koranic reminiscences. The people who live in castle-like caves are mentioned in the Koran as the Thamudites, "Ye build yourselves castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses," VII. 75.[2]

The gigantic Suetidi are like the gigantic Adites,[3] and I have already shown how the Odin myth arose from the idol *Wadd* of the Arabs.[4] For the rest, the *Antiquitas*, from which all the writers on the origins of the Germanic tribes drew, is a jumble of etymology and fiction. In considering this part, it is necessary

[1] See note on p. 94.

[2] E. M. Wherry, *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán*, London 1882, vol. I, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[4] See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 140 f. My book was already finished, when I discovered the positive confirmation of my guess in Mas'ūdī and the other Arabic historians. They all tell of the Thamudites, Adites, and Wadd in their histories, but the most amazing account is the one given by Mas'ūdī, from older sources. In chapter XXXV he discusses the Langobards, and ends with a brief reference to Spain. Then there follows a chapter on the Adites, a gigantic people, with whom no one could compare in strength. Then we get another chapter on the Thamudites, who lived in houses cut into the rock. As we hear in the next chapter so much of the Amalekites, "the Arabs of pure origin," it is most likely that the noble *Amali* of Jordanes are nothing but the *Amalekites* of the Arabs. I shall return to this subject in a future work.

11763

to take into account the Ravenna Cosmographer, although he generally quotes from Jordanes, because he also hints at older sources.

Much has been written about the anonymous writer of the Cosmography,[1] but the one important conclusion which should have been drawn from it has never been drawn, namely, that we have here the work of a Goth of Ravenna of the ninth century, who got his information about Gaul and the Germanic countries from three Spanish Goths of the eighth century, who wrote in the Arabico-Gothic language of the time.

Mommsen has studied the Italian map of the cosmographer, and has assumed that, because of the writer's mention of Pentesilius and Marpesius as philosophers, whereas they are Amazons mentioned by Jordanes, the writer intended to practise fraud.[2] But Mommsen is too severe. Ignorant the writer was, but it cannot be proved that he practised wilful deception. Indeed, Charles Müller has shown that the other doubtful names of Roman authors, such as Castorius, Lollianus, and Arbition, are in reality names of consuls, which the cosmographer had found inscribed on the Peutinger map, which he was copying.[3] We have no case against him for the Roman and Greek part of the *Cosmographia*, and we have reason to assume that his specific statements about the Gothic authors are absolutely genuine. But it can be shown that the information of these Goths was based on an Arabic source.

[1] See *Le Ravennate et son exposé cosmographique*, by M. d'Avezac, publié par Jean Gravier, Rouen 1888, pp. 31–117.

[2] *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Classe*, 1851, p. 115; see d'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[3] D'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

The Ravenna cosmographer twice refers to Britain as *micosmin*.[1] As no Greek philosopher has any such statement in regard to Britain, while the Latin writers from Caesar on are full of it, the reading "*Gothorum* philosophi," instead of "*Graecorum* philosophi," is unquestionably the correct one. Pinder and Parthey guessed that *micosmin* is Gr. *ἡμικόσμιον*, on the ground that Solinus says, "nisi Britannia insula non qualibet amplitudine nomen pene orbis alterius mereretur," and Pliny (IV. 13. 27), "Scandinavia insula alter orbis terrarum appellatur." But *ἡμικόσμιον* means "half of the world," and is nowhere used in this sense. Vergil (*Ecl.* I. 66) calls the Britons "penitus toto divisos orbe," and Isidore says, "Brittania Oceani insula interfuso mari toto orbe divisa." It is, therefore, clear that the chief characteristic of Britain, as noticed by the writers, is that it is separated from the rest of the world. This is precisely the meaning of *micosmin* in Arabic. Alcalá has مقسم *muqassimun* "medidor del mundo, the divider of the world," and we have also مقسوم *maqsūmun* "divided,a portion,share," مقسم *miqsamun* "a part of a thing divided," مقسم *maqsimun* "a place of division," all from the good Semitic verb قسم *qasama* "he divided;" that is, *micosmin* means in the Ravenna geographer "divided from the rest, toto orbe divisa." The resemblance to Gr. *κόσμος* is not accidental, for the Greek word is derived from the same Semitic stem. Indeed, Leo Meyer[2] has already shown that the original meaning of Gr. *κοσμέειν* is "to divide."

The Sirdifeni and Rerefeni are, according to Aithanarit, the philosopher of the Goths, inhabitants of the

[1] "Quam insulam, ut diximus, quidam Graecorum (Gothorum) philosophi quasi *micosmin* appellaverunt," M. Pinder and G. Parthey, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, Berolini 1860, p. 423; "magna insula Brittania reiacet, quam Graecorum philosophi quasi *micosmin* appellant," *ibid.*, p. 9.

[2] *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, Leipzig 1901, vol. II, p. 294.

mountains near Scythia, and both their men and women live by hunting and are ignorant of wine and food. Their country is said to be very cold.[1] The Ravenna cosmographer obviously followed his Gothic authority, Aithanarit, who himself was confused by the various spellings of the word, and so created the Rerefeni by the side of the Scridofinni. The fuller account of the Scridofinni in Paulus Diaconus, in conjunction with the etymology of the word, is due to an outside source, for Paulus Diaconus calls it a "barbarous" word. Now there cannot be any doubt about the ONorse *skrida*. It is certainly related to *Scridofinni*, as the explanation in Paulus shows. If we now take all the *scrid-* words in the Germanic languages, we not only find a great variety of meanings, but also an irregular development. The word is totally lacking in Gothic. It occurs in the Keronian glosses as *piscrit*, the translation of "elabe (evadere, efugire)," while "conlabuntur" is translated by *cascritan;* hence *scrit-* has here distinctly the meaning "to run, flee." We also have *scriti*, *scritamal* "passus." In the ASaxon vocabularies we have *scrid*, *scrida* "a chariot," *scridan* "to go, to go hither and thither, wander, glide," *scride* "a course." It can easily be shown how the gloss, "*scrid* basterna, carracutium, vehiculum," arose. Saxo Grammaticus had some difficulty in explaining the passage in Paulus, for he explained it as "quae gens inusitatis assueta *vehiculis*, montium inaccessa venationis ardore sectatur, locorumque complacitas sedes dispendio lubricae flexionis assequitur; neque enim ulla adeo rupes prominet, quin ad ejus fastigium callida cursus ambage perveniat; primo siquidem vallium

[1] "Item iuxta ipsam Scythiam litus Oceanum ponitur patria quae dicitur Rerefenorum et Sirdifenorum. cuius patriae homines ut ait Aithanarit Gothorum philosophus rupes montium inhabitant, et per venationes tam viri quamque mulieres vivere, cibo vel vino ignari existentes in omnibus dicuntur. quae patria super omnes frigida esse ascribitur," Pinder and Parthey, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

profunda relinquens, scopulorum radices tortuosa gi-ratione perlabitur, sicque meatum crebrae declinationis obliquitate perflectit, donec per sinuosos callium anfrac-tus destinatum loci cacumen exuperet."[1] This elabo-rate explanation of the ski reduces itself to this—that the runner combined a gliding with a leaping motion, in his attempt to reach his prey. The earlier writers were just as much puzzled by the etymology in Paulus or his source, as was Saxo Grammaticus at a later time. One thing was certain to them, and that was that *scrid* in *Scridofinni* referred to some kind of "vehicle," on which one could easily pass on, glide, or jump. In the same way developed the ONorse words, *skriðr* "a creeping or sliding motion," *scriðna* "to slip, slide," *skriða* "a landslip, hillside," *skríða* "to creep, crawl, glide, to slide in snow-shoes." An OHGerman gloss to Prudentius, "lignoque plantas inserit *divaricatis* cruribus" (*Peristephanon*, V. 251 f.), glosses "divaricatis" by *screitan*, which shows that the glossator confused the torture with the motion of the ski-runner, because here, too, it speaks of the foot being placed in a piece of wood; hence he used a deriva-tive of *scrit* to express the fact. Thus there evolved in OHGerman the idea of a striding motion.

In the Keronian glosses we find "delabunt" glossed in one manuscript by *cascritant*, in others by *kistritant*. This at once establishes the relation of *scrit-* and *strit-*, due to a mere error of reading. The ASaxon, too, has in the oldest vocabularies *stride* "stride, pace" and *stridit* "varicat." But in OHGerman this root developed the meaning "strife." The origin of this

[1] Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, München 1837, p. 684 f.

word is highly interesting. In the Keronian glosses we have

Passus c̄	*scriti*
statium	stucki

and

Stadium	stukhi
passus CXXV	*scritamal* edho stapho.

The Latin lemma is common enough in the mediaeval vocabularies, but we have also "ad stadium *ad locum certaminis.*" Now an OHGerman gloss to Boethius, of the tenth century, translates "stadium" by *stritlaufo* and "cursor" by *stritlauft*, which is quite correct, since we see from the Keronian gloss that "stadium" was confused with "passus," the numeral CXXV not having been observed by the German glossator. To him "stadium" was a running-place of *passi.* Indeed, the *St. Gall MS. 912* has "*stadiodromus* stadiorum cursus." No wonder, then, that the German St. Gall writer should have created the word *stritlauft.* For "passi" we had in the Keronian gloss *scriti*—here we have *strit.* "Stadium," however, also means "locus contentionis," hence *strit* also came to mean "contention, quarrel, obstinacy, altercation," etc. ONorse *strid* "woe, grief, affliction, strife, combat," is a borrowing from the OHGerman.

We have still other corruptions. Saxo Grammaticus calls the Finni *Scricfinni. Scric-* and *stric-* have also survived as roots for "quick motion." The Hrabanian glosses have "exilit *scrichit,*" which is identical with Paulus' etymology for *Scritobini.* The Hrabanian word is retained in OHG. *scrican* "to jump suddenly, shy," *scric* "leap," *houscrich* "locust," hence Ger. *schrecken* "to frighten." We have also *strūchon* "labare, elabi, ruere, efugere," and *strecchan* "ire, meare." In the latter case there is a confusion with *stric* "linen," with which it has nothing to do. In

ONorse *skrikan* "slipping, stumbling" takes the place of OHG. *strūchon*, while in ASaxon we have *strīcon* "to move, go."

We have the Greek verbs *σκαίρω* "I jump," *σκιρτάω* "I leap, dance," with numerous derivatives from the root, such as *σκιρτοπόδης*, an epithet of the Satyr. The root is not found in the other Indo-European languages and is of Semitic origin, for here we have the root *sard-*, *šard-* in a sense akin to the Greek. We have Heb. שָׂרִיד *ṣarīd* "one who has run away," Syr. ܣܪܕ *srad* "he trembled, feared," hence ܣܘܪܕܐ *sūrâdâ* "terror, fright." But it is only the Arab. شرد *šaraḍa* "he took fright, shied, became refractory, broke loose and went hither and thither by reason of his sprightliness," which could have produced the Germanic group, derived from *Scritofinni*. We have Arab. شراد *širāḍ* "a taking fright, shying and fleeing, running away at random," شريد *šarīḍ* "fleeing, running away," شارد *šāriḍ* "shying, fleeing, savage." The etymology suggested by Paulus Diaconus makes it clear that he quoted, from his source, an Arabic etymology for *Scritofinni*. We have already seen that from this etymology a whole series of divergent roots were started in the Germanic languages, and it is likely that a much larger number of such roots must ultimately be derived from it.

There arises somewhat late in OHGerman a series of words with which to designate a satyrlike being. We have for "larua, ephialtes, faunus,"[1] *scrat*, *scrato*, *scrazzo*, *screzzo*,[2] where the variation in the final consonant shows a wavering in the borrowed form.

[1] Steinmeyer and Sievers, II. 469, 472, 518, 534, 550, 558, 678, III. 317, 420, IV. 204, 209, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, III. 220, 244, 278, IV. 243.

But we have also *slathe* "larva,"[1] *sletton* "faunos,"[2] *slezo* "incubus,"[3] which show a new development, *sclit*, *sclid*, *slit*, *slid*, by the side of *scrid*, etc., and which must have had an original meaning of a motion described by Paulus Diaconus in connection with the *Scritofinni*. Indeed, we have AS. *slide* "a slip, fall," *slīdan* "to slide," which is recorded in OHGerman as *sclit* and *sclifh* "lapsus."[4] *Sclit* has not survived in OHGerman, except in *slito*, *sliddo* "sled;" and in a gloss, "trahas a trahendo, id *slito* curuata sine rota,"[5] we get precisely the explanation by Paulus Diaconus, "saltibus enim utentes, arte quadam ligno incurvo ad arcus similitudinem feras adsecuntur," as misunderstood by Saxo Grammaticus.[6] *Sclifh* leads similarly to OHG. *slīfan* "to fall, glide,[7] slip," and we also get a form *sleihha* "sleigh," hence *slīhan* "to slip, glide," etc. It is not necessary for me to follow out this extremely rich group from *Scritofinni* in the other languages. It is plain, from what has already been shown, that the mysterious *Scritofinni* are responsible for a large number of words in the Germanic languages.

One can see why, in the doubtful passage in Procopius, the Heruli are made to go to Scandinavia for a king. Everything glorious which was ascribed to the Germanic races, according to the original *Antiquitas*, as recorded in its various derivative sources, had its origin in Scandinavia, whence came the Langobards. The Heruli fought with the Langobards, hence it was necessary to give them an etymology. We have for them, in Jordanes, not one, but two etymologies, one of them

[1] *Ibid.*, IV. 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 580.
[3] *Ibid.*, III. 489, 501.
[4] *Ibid.*, I. 204.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV. 271.
[6] See p. 103 f.
[7] "Delabunt *cascritant, kistritant, zasliifant,*" SS., I. 110.

derived from the Greek,[1] the other from the Latin. Jordanes says that the Danes drove out of their own seats the Heruli, who of all the nations of Scandia had the highest name on account of their nobility.[2] We see at once whence comes this nobility. The *Liber glossarum*[3] has a large number of derivatives from Lat. *herus*, such as *erile* "filius dominicus," *eriles lectos* "dominorum lectus," *eruli* "domini," whence "*eruli* domini" found its way into a large number of vocabularies. The etymology for *Heruli* was, therefore, unavoidable: they are called so from their nobility. This Latin etymology found its way into many Germanic languages. The *Corpus Glossary* has *eruli* still on the Latin side, but later we get AS. *eorl* "man, brave man, hero," and ultimately, "nobleman, lord." In OSaxon *erl* has the meaning "man, male, boy," and in ONorse *jarl* is "gentleman."

Paulus Diaconus says that the Heruli met the Langobards in battle in the open fields.[4] There would be nothing peculiar about this statement, were it not that the Langobards are distinctly connected with the open fields. We have already seen that the Langobards, according to the *Origo* and Paulus, lived for three years in the open fields, called in the foreign language, *feld*. Campus *Asfeld* (*Feld*) is again mentioned in Paulus as a Langobard place.[5] There is no reason why the Langobards should be mentioned as living in the open fields. Apparently there is a mistake somewhere. Now, Procopius says that Justinian settled the Langobards in Pannonia and gave them there the city of Noricum, the fortified places of Pannonia, and many

[1] "Nam praedicta gens, Ablavio istorico referente, iuxta Meotida palude inhabitans in locis stagnantibus, quas Greci *ele* vocant, *Eluri* nominati sunt," XXIII (117.)
[2] III (23).
[3] Goetz, vol. V, p. 194.
[4] "Conveniunt utrorumque in campis patentibus acies," I. 20.
[5] I. 24.

open places.[1] The same statement is made in regard to the Heruli, who pillaged the open places of Thrace.[2] In both cases we have the statement that the Langobards and Heruli occupied the fields as well as the fortified places. *Feld* is, therefore, a translation of Gr. *χωρίον*. In the Graeco-Latin vocabularies *χωρίον* is translated by "ager, fundus, praedium, villa." *Feld* is not originally a Germanic word, because it is absent from Gothic. We can ascertain its origin by studying its appearance in ASaxon. The *Corpus Glossary* has "scamma *feld*," "saltuum *feltha*," "stabulum *falaed*," "bofellum *falud*." To this must be added AS. *fold*, *folde* "earth, turf," which, however, does not appear until a later time. "Scamma *feld*" shows that the word got into ASaxon only from Paulus Diaconus or the *Origo*, since *scamma* means "a field in which athletes wrestle,"[3] from Gr. *σκάπτω* "I dig," because such a ground was generally lower than the surrounding land. It is precisely in this sense that we found it in the conflict between the Heruli and the Langobards, who fought in open fields. Such a low place, surrounded by a natural fence, was particularly fitted for a cattle fold, hence *feltha* is glossed by "saltuum," that is, "woods for cattle," whence we at once come to *falud*, *falaed*, *fold* "a fold." We have OPort. *faldra* "plains" and OFr. *falde* "sheep pasture," which show how "field" and "pasture" are here related. In OHGerman *feld* "campus" is not often recorded, but OSax. *faled* "fold" adds to the proof that the original form of the ASaxon word from which *feld*, *fold* are derived, was nearer to *falaed*, which is recorded for "fold." This

[1] «Λαγγοβάρδας δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδωρήσατο Νωρικῶν τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Παννονίας ὀχυρώμασί τε καὶ ἄλλοις χωρίοις πολλοῖς καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις ἄγαν,» *De bello gothico*, III. 33. 10.

[2] «Καὶ ἄλλα μέντοι Δακίας χωρία δόντος βασιλέως Ἐρουλοι ἔσχον ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σιγγιδόνων, οὗ δὴ ἵδρυνται νῦν, Ἰλλυρούς τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία καταθέοντες καὶ ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον,» III. 33. 13.

[3] "Locus ubi anthletae luctantur," Goetz, vol. V, p. 388, etc.

is from Arab. فلحة *falaḥaṭ*, pl. فلحات *falaḥāṭ* "field, land furrowed for cultivation, campus patens." We have, therefore, in the *Origo* and in Paulus Diaconus, an Arabic gloss to Gr. *χωρίον*, as given, no doubt, in the original *Antiquitas*.

We have still another Arabic word in the passage about Scandia. Jordanes says that the Suehans (Sueans, Suethans) have excellent horses and transmit sapphirine furs, famous for their blackness, through other nations to the Romans. This account, if nothing else, proves that Jordanes' *Getica* is a forgery, for *sappherinus* is not derived from Lat. *sapphirus*, but from Arab. اصفر *'aṣfar*, fem. صفراء *ṣafrā'u* "black, applied to a camel, as in the Koran, LXXVII. 33, because a black camel always has an intermixture of yellow." The reference is to beaver or sable furs, which the Arabic geographers specifically mention as coming from the country of the *Īsū*, that is, *Suiones*. Abū Ḥāmid says: "The merchants go from Bulġār to a country of the infidels, called Īsū, whence the beaver comes. They take to it swords with unpolished blades which they buy at Ādherbeiġān. They buy them there four for one dīnār. These are frequently moistened with water, so that they will make a metallic sound when they are suspended from a string and are struck. That is what they want. For these blades they buy beavers. The people of Īsū go with these swords to a country near to darkness, which lies near the Dark Sea (البحر الاسود *'albaḥr 'alaswad*) and sell these swords for sable furs. These take the blades and throw them into the Dark Sea. Then Allah lets a fish come out for them."[1] It is not possible to locate these Arabic

[1] G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?*, Berlin 1891, p. 76 f.

Īsū, but they are most likely the modern Finns. If so, *Īsū* must be the root of the modern Finnish word for "Finland," *Suomi*, which is generally connected with Fin. *suo* "swamp," even as we have seen, independently of this, that the Finns have been connected with the country of swamps by all the writers on Scandia.

I shall now show that the division of the Goths into Ostrogoths and Visigoths, as told in Jordanes, was unknown before the existence of the Gothic *Antiquitas*, and that all works before the eighth century, where there is mention of them, have been corrected in keeping with the *Antiquitas*.

Jordanes quotes Ablabius, that is, the *Antiquitas*, to the effect that the Goths lived in Scythia, where the eastern tribes had a king called *Ostrogotha*, whence the *Ostrogothae* were so called, or because they were the eastern people, while the others were called *Vesegothae*, that is, the western.[1] Then Ostrogotha crossed the Danube and devastated Moesia and Thrace, in the days when King Philip ruled over the Romans.[2] This valiant King Ostrogotha ruled over both Ostrogoths and Visigoths and was victorious over the Gepidae.[3] The Ostrogoths separated from the Visigoths in the days of King Hermanric.[4] While Balamber, the king of the Huns, waged war on the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, that is, the western settlers, sent a delegation to Valens, asking for permission to settle in Thrace or Moesia. Valens hoped to create a bulwark against the northern barbarians by admitting

[1] "Ablabius enim storicus refert, quia ibi super limbum Ponti, ubi eos diximus in Scythia commanere, ibi pars eorum, qui orientali plaga tenebat, eisque praeerat Ostrogotha, utrum ab ipsius nomine, an a loco, id est orientales, dicti sunt Ostrogothae, residui vero Vesegothae, id est a parte occidua," XIV (82).
[2] XVI (89 ff.)
[3] XVII (97 ff.)
[4] XXIV (130).

the Visigoths into Roman territory. It was then that the Visigoths became Arians and also persuaded the Ostrogoths and Gepidae to become Arians.[1] After shuttlecocking the Ostrogoths and Visigoths over Europe, Jordanes returns once more to the history of their division,[2] and at last settles the Visigoths in Spain.[3]

We have in the story of Ostrogotha obviously a mythical account of the eponymous hero of the Ostrogoths, hence the name *Ostrogoths* must precede the name of the king. Apparently the *Antiquitas* tried to explain the later division of the Goths into those who seized the reign in Rome and those who seized it in Spain. This led back to the division of the Goths between Fritigern and Athanaric, where Paulus Diaconus stopped.[4] But when we turn to any earlier writer, we are perplexed to find that not a single historical writer, except Procopius, has anything to say about *Visigoths*, and not even Procopius knows of the name *Ostrogoths*. He opposes the Goths to the Visigoths, and distinguishes between the Goths of Italy and Alaric's *Οὐισίγοτθοι* who settled in Spain,[5] which is in keeping with Jordanes, who makes Alaric the first Visigoth.

[1] XXV (131 ff.)
[2] XLVIII (246 ff.)
[3] XLVIII (251).
[4] "Exigit nunc locus dicere, quam ob causam Gothorum alii Ostrogothae, alii vero Wisegothae sint dicti, oportunumque est aliquantulum ad superiora tempora regredi, quatenus horum ratio vocabulorum possit exponi. temporibus Valentiniani superioris Augusti cum intra Traciae fines Gothorum tunc populi communiter habitarent, bifarie per Alaricum ac Fridigernum divisi decreverunt, ut utramque rempublicam id est Fridigernus cum suis Orientalem, Alaricus vero cum suo exercitu Occidentalem opprimeret. hi ergo, qui cum Fridigerno in Orientali remanserant parte, lingua patria ab Oriente Ostrogothae id est orientales Gothi sunt dicti; isti vero, qui occiduas petierant regiones, ab Occidente Wisigothae id est occidentales sunt appellati," *Historia romana*, XV. 6.
[5] «Καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι . . . ἐγγυῶντες ἐς ξυγγένειαν ἐπεμίγνυντο,» *De bello gothico*, I. 12. 49.

The story of the Visigoths in Procopius is preceded by the statement that the Gothic nations consist of the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths and Gepidae, and they were anciently called Sauromati and Blackcoats. They are also called Getae.[1] Speaking of the Tetraxite Goths, Procopius repeats this account, and ends with the absurd statement that they were also called something else.[2] The editor suggests that the whole latter passage was written in the margin and later incorporated in the text, hence he places it in parentheses. Yes, but the two passages cannot possibly be by Procopius, because he could not have committed the same kind of blunder, based on a misunderstanding of the same *Βορυσθενιτικός* of Dio Chrysostom, as was perpetrated by the interpolator of Procopius in connection with Hoamer, the Achilles of the Vandals.

What Dio Chrysostom says is this: "Callistratos, a stately old Borysthenite, was dressed in black, as is the custom with the Borysthenitae, even as many Blackcoat Scythians are dressed in black, whence, I suppose, they are so called by the Greeks."[3] The forger had already identified the Borysthenitae with Goths, hence he quite naturally here identified them with the Blackcoat Scythians or Sauromatians, espe-

[1] «Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρότερόν τε ἦν καὶ τανῦν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάντων μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα Γότθοι τέ εἰσι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Γήπαιδες· πάλαι μέντοι Σαυρομάται καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι ὠνομάζοντο· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ Γετικὰ ἔθνη ταῦτ' ἐκάλουν,» *De bello vandalico*, I. 2. 2.

[2] «Πολλῷ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄποθεν Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ γένη ξύμπαντα ἵδρυντο· οἳ δὴ καὶ Σκύθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλοῦντο, ἐπεὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἅπερ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία εἶχον, Σκυθικὰ μὲν ἐπὶ κοινῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν Σαυρομάται ἢ Μελάγχλαινοι, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐπεκαλοῦντο,» *De bello gothico*, IV. 5. 5–6.

[3] «Παρέζωστο δὲ μάχαιραν μεγάλην τῶν ἱππικῶν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στολὴν Σκυθικήν, ἄνωθεν δὲ τῶν ὤμων ἱμάτιον μικρὸν μέλαν, λεπτόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ Βορυσθενῖται· χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐσθῆτι μελαίνῃ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ γένους τινὸς Σκυθῶν τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσι, κατὰ τοῦτο ὀνομασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,» *op. cit.*, p. 3.

cially since Dio Chrysostom a few lines further down speaks of the wars of the Borysthenitae with the Sauromatians.

It is quite impossible for Procopius to have talked such nonsense, and all the references to *Οὐισίγοτθοι* and *Γότθοι Τετραξῖται* found in his works are bold interpolations or rifacimenti, made after the invasion of the Arabs. Procopius insists on distinguishing between the *Visigoths*, who followed Alaric, and the rest, who are simply called Goths.[1] Among the latter he wrongly places the *Alani*.[2] This mistake is also found in Jordanes, who calls himself a descendant of the Alani.[3] That the original Procopius did not have any reference to Visigoths is proved by Zonaras, who, as we have seen, leans on Procopius, and yet knows only of Alaric as the leader of the Goths and Vandals.[4] Similarly, Georgius Cedrenus speaks of Alaric, the Goth, the leader of the Vandals,[5] while in the Excerpts of Olympiodorus he is called the phylarch of the Goths.[6] The Latin writers know nothing of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, and it is fatal to refer Jordanes for his history to Cassiodorus, because in his *Chronica* only the word *Gothi* occurs, Alaric being specifically mentioned as the king of the Goths.[7] The same is true of the chronicles of Hydatius, Marcellinus, Victor

[1] *De bello vandalico*, I. 2. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, I. 3. 1 and 5. 21.

[3] L (265).

[4] «Ἀλλάριχον τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ τῶν Οὐανδήλων ἢ Γότθων ἔθνους,» XIII. 21.

[5] «Παρελήφθη δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη ὑπὸ Ἀλαρίχου τοῦ Γότθου, τοῦ τῶν Οὐανδίλων ἐξάρχοντος,» *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, vol. XXXIII, p. 588.

[6] «Ἀλάριχος ὁ τῶν Γότθων φύλαρχος,» *ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 448.

[7] "Gothi Halarico et Radagaiso regibus ingrediuntur Italiam," a. 400; "Roma a Gothis Halarico duce capta est, ubi clementer usi victoria sunt," a. 410; "Gothi rege Ataulpho Gallias intraverunt," a. 412; "gens Vandalorum a Gothis exclusa de Hispaniis ad Africam transit," a. 427, etc., in *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 154 ff.

Tonnensis, Johannes Biclarensis.[1] In the fragment of the *Chronica Caesaraugustana* we read, under a. 490, "Theudericus *Ostrogotthorum* rex a Thracia et Pannonia Italiam venit."[2] But as *Gotthi* is used in every other case, and the item for the year 490 is absent from MS. E, this reference is valueless, since it is certainly interpolated. This very item occurs in the chronicle of Marius Aventicensis as "his consulibus ingressus est Theudoricus rex *Gothorum* in Italia ponte Isonti."[3] In this chronicle *Gothi* is used indiscriminately for Goths in Italy and Spain.

In Isidore's History of the Goths, which, as we have already seen, is greatly interpolated, there is no distinction made between eastern and western Goths, but *Ostrogothi* has slipped into one place. Under era 545 we have two varying redactions, one reading "Theodericus iunior dum iam pridem, a Thracia et Pannonia veniens, fugato Arnulfo rege *Ostrogothorum*, regnasset in Italia annis X et octo, rursus extincto Gisaleico rege Gothorum," the other, "Theudericus iunior, cum iam dudum consul et rex a Zenone imperatore Romae creatus fuisset peremptoque Odoacar rege *Ostrogothorum* atque devicto fratre eius Onoulfo et trans confinia Danuvii effugato XVIII annis Italia victor regnasset, rursus extincto Gisaleico rege Gothorum." It is not a mere coincidence that *Ostrogothus* should be used here precisely in the same place as in the interpolated item in the *Chronica Caesaraugustana*, and only there. Obviously both sources were corrected from the same later interpolation. It is also interesting to note that one MS. of Isidore goes even further, and here, and only here, changes "Gisaleico rege *Gothorum*" to "rege *Guisigothorum* Geselico."[4] In Isidore's

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Chronica we have "In Italia quoque Totila *Ostrogothorum* rex a Narse Romano patricio superatur;"[1] but this item is in only five MSS. out of a vast number, and, besides, a few lines farther down Totila is mentioned only as "rex *Gothorum*," even as he is given in Victor, on whom the first passage is based. Again, in the Anonymus Valesianus, of which the earliest MS. is of the ninth century, *Wisigothae* is mentioned in precisely the same relation to Theoderic.[2] It is, therefore, clear that all the references to Visigoths and Ostrogoths go back to a Life of Theoderic, such as is given in the Anonymus Valesianus. Since Theoderic had been king both in Italy and Spain, there was need of the distinction, which, however, was not made before the eighth century.

In the poets, *Ostrogothus* occurs in a few cases. It is found in a verse ascribed to Martinus Dumiensis,[3] because there is a reference to such a poem in Gregory of Tours.[4] One of the manuscripts reads *Histrogothus* instead of *Ostrogothus*. But as this reference to the verses and to Martinus is absent from MSS. B and C of Gregory, it is certainly interpolated and is of no value for the determination of the genuineness of the poem. We have in Claudian's poem *In Eutropium* (XX), line 153, the words, "*Ostrogothis* colitur mixtisque Gruthungis Phryx ager." Several editors have already expressed their perplexity at finding Ostrogoths in Phrygia, a totally unknown and unwarranted assumption. This passage was obviously corrected in the light

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

[2] "Tunc venerunt *Wisigothae* in adiutorium Theoderici," *ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 316; "nam uxorem habuit ante regnum, de qua susceperat filias: unam dedit nomine Areaagni Alarico regi *Wisigotharum* in Gallias," *ibid.*, p. 322.

[3] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. VI^2, p. 195.

[4] *Historia Francorum*, V. 37, in *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. I^1, p. 229.

of a later information.[1] *Ostrogothus* occurs several times in the poems of Apollinaris Sidonius.

"Bastarna, Suebus,
Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Halanus,
Bellonothus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,
Bisalta, *Ostrogothus*, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus," V. 474 ff.[2]

There is no dependence whatsoever on this, since there are no manuscripts which are earlier than the tenth century, and since Bellonothus and Alites are non-existent nations and Procrustes is probably Pirustes, as Wilamowitz suggests. Besides, *Vesus* occurs here for the first and only time. If it refers to any nation at all, it can only be the *Īsū* of the Arabs, who are also given as *Visu*,[3] and hence cannot be earlier than of the eighth century. To make matters worse, Sidonius mentions the *Getae*, who with him invariably mean *all* the Goths; hence the reference to *Ostrogothus* further down is impossible, except as a mistake. Since *Ostrogothus* occurs again in Sidonius in a perfectly correct relation, namely, in a statement that the Ostrogoths fought with the Huns,[4] there cannot be any doubt that Sidonius really wrote *Ostrogothus*. But who is Sidonius?

All we know of him is contained in Gregory of Tours and in Gennadius of Marseilles,[5] but the chapter on Sidonius is absent from many MSS. of Gennadius, and is totally lacking in Gregory in the tell-tale MSS.

[1] Since writing the above I have collected a great amount of material to show that *Ostrogothus* and *Greutingus* are, in the writers before the eighth century, bold interpolations. Of this I shall treat in another volume.

[2] *MGH.*, *Auctor. antiq.*, vol. VIII, p. 199.

[3] Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, München 1837, p. 516.

[4] "Istis Ostrogothus viget patronis
Vicinosque premens subinde Chunos,
His quod subditur, hinc superbit illis," *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. XLIV ff.

B and C. If Sidonius was such a great man among the Visigoths, how is it that Isidore of Seville does not mention him in his *De viris illustribus?* To cap the climax, Sidonius speaks of Orosius as a great writer.[1] Thus we arrive at only one conclusion, namely, that the works of Apollinaris Sidonius are an eighth century forgery, made after the forgery of Orosius.[2] The same forger is apparently responsible for the poem ascribed to Martinus, which bears in its nomenclature of the nations a suspicious resemblance to Sidonius.[3]

Thus we have no reference whatseoever to either *Ostrogothus* or *Visigothus* except in spurious works. I shall now show how these terms originated.

Procopius speaks in various parts of his work of the Tetraxite Goths. There are not many of them and they are good Christians. These Goths had originally been Arians, like the rest of the nation. When Justinian had been emperor twenty-one years, they sent four elders to Byzantium to ask for a bishop, since their preacher had lately died. Justinian complied with their wish.[4] They lived on a footing of friendship with the Huns.[5]

One can see at a glance that we have here a rifacimento of the story from John Chrysostom, whom the Goths asked for a Catholic bishop after their preacher, Unilas, had died. But the same story bobs up again in the eighth century. The Greek Menologion celebrates on June 26 the memory of the Holy Father

[1] "Ut Gregorius consolatur, *ut Orosius affluit* ut Rufinus stringitur," *Epistolae*, IV. 3. 7, *ibid.*, p. 55.

[2] To this matter I shall return at a future time.

[3] "Alamannus, Saxo, Toringus,
Pannonius, Rugus, Sclavus, Nara, Sarmata, Datus,
Ostrogotus, Francus, Burgundio, Dacus, Alanus,"
MGH., Auctor. antiq., vol. VI [2], p. 195.

[4] *De bello gothico*, IV. 4. 4 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV. 5 ff. and 18 ff.

John, the Bishop of the Goths.[1] The account of him given there is substantially the same, though much abbreviated, as in the Vatican Codex, quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[2] According to it, he lived in the days of Leo the Isaurian, Constantine (Kopronymos), and Irene, that is, at the end of the eighth century. He was bishop of the Goths in the Crimea, where he died. Nearly the same story is told in the Greek Synaxary,[3] only the date is transferred to May 31. In the *Acta Sanctorum* there is also mention of an Arabo-Egyptian martyrology, where under June 26 we have the Holy Father John, the bishop of the Persians.

If the bishop of the Tetraxite Goths in Procopius is a blunder, the bishop of the Goths in the *Acta Sanctorum* is a humbug. He is stolen from the Syriac martyrology and calendar, and was obviously adopted by the Spanish Goths through the Syrians who came to Spain with the Arabs, and then was loaned to the Greek synaxaries and menologia, together with the humbug of the burning of the Goths, and Ulfilas,the bishop of the Goths. In the British Museum *Add. MS. 14519*, a Jacobite Menologion, we find, under June 26, John bar Aphtoniā.[4] Under the same date, in *Paris 146* and *Vatic. LXIX*, we have Saint John bar Aphtonia, superior of the monks of Qennešrin.[5] Similarly, in *Add. MS. 17232*, he is mentioned as John, superior of Qennešrē, bar Aphtonia.[6] His death is given under November 4.[7]

[1] Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἰουνιοῦ, Ἐν Βενετίᾳ 1852, p. 95.
[2] June V, p. 190 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[4] *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. X, fasc. I, p. 51.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 122. Similarly, in *Add. MS. 14504*, *ibid.*, p. 42.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 47, 65, 98, 114.

From the Life of John bar Aphtonia, by one of his disciples,[1] and from other sources, it appears that John was called bar Aphtonia from his mother, Aphtonia, who was a pious woman and, after the death of her husband, put her children to school and took good care of them. She had consecrated her son, John, by some kind of prophecy, while she was still pregnant with him. When he was born, she brought him up in her house as in a sanctuary and did not let him see the world.[2] In the Greek story, John's mother is *Photina*, obviously a corruption of *Aphtonia*, who consecrated her son to God, even before he was born.[3] When Aphtonia brought John to the monastery, and the abbot would not receive him, because he was only fifteen years old, his mother said, "Like another Eli, o venerable man, receive my *Samuel*,"[4] and a hymn on John by John Psaltes begins with the words, "Like the prophet *Samuel*, John the illustrious chief and director of our community."[5] In the Greek version, John was consecrated to God like Jeremiah and Samuel.[6] In or soon after 531 John was in Constantinople, where he was in charge of the meetings of the monophysite monks with the emperor and the orthodox bishops.[7] In the Greek version his predecessor was called to Constantinople by Emperor Constantine to a synod to decide against the images, wherefore the Goths who were against

[1] F. Nau, *Vie de Jean bar Aphtonia*, Paris 1902, in *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale*, tome 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] «Φωτεινῆς γε τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Ὁσίου, εὐξαμένης τῷ Θεῷ δοθῆναι αὐτῇ καρπὸν, εἰς τὸ προσάξαι αὐτὸν λειτουργὸν Κυρίῳ οὕτως συνέλαβεν αὐτόν. Τεχθεὶς γὰρ καὶ αὐξηθείς, τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἐκ σπαργάνων ἐπεσπάσατο βίον, ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν κατορθώσας,» *Acta sanctorum*, June V, p. 190.

[4] Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[6] «Οὗτος ὁ ὅσιος Ἰωάννης καθαγιασθεὶς ἐκ βρέφους ὡς ὁ Ἱερεμίας καὶ Σαμουὴλ ὁλικῶς ἀφιερώθη τῷ Θεῷ.»

[7] Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 11.

the synod asked for John to be their bishop. He went to Constantinople, where he stayed three years.

It is clear that no Gothic Bishop John ever existed, and that the whole Life was made up on the basis of the Life of John bar Aphtonia. We have nothing definite in the account of Procopius to permit us to trace a similar story about the bishop of the Goths, whom Justinian sent to the Crimea, but it can be shown that the whole account of the Goths in the Crimea is based on no fact whatsoever. Wherever the word τετραξῖται occurs in Procopius, MS.L has τραπεζῖται. The first means nothing, the second means "merchant." Now, Jordanes has already told us that the beaver skins reached Rome from Scandinavia through several intermediate merchants.[1] Fraehn[2] has already shown that there was a lively interchange between Scandinavia and the Arabic kingdoms of Asia. On the other hand, we have abundant proof that a trade between the north and the west took place through the intermediacy of merchants going up the Black Sea and trading with the Bulgars and Khazars, who, in their turn, traded with the Scandinavians. It is interesting to note that the western merchants bartered to the Bulgars and northern nations manufactured cloth for furs.[3] As *trapezita* "merchant" first was employed in Spain, whence it spread to the other Romance countries, it is certain that among the Arab traders in the Black Sea regions were also found Goths, who gave rise to the mythical Gothic kingdom in the Crimea.

[1] "Hi (Suehans) quoque sunt, qui in usibus Romanorum sappherinas pelles commercio interveniente per alias innumeras gentes transmittunt," III (21).

[2] *Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823.

[3] "Itaque pro laneis indumentis, quae nos dicimus faldones, illi offerunt tam preciosos martures," Adam of Bremen, *Gesta hammenburgensis ecclesiae pontificae*, lib. IV, cap. 18.

In the *Leyden Glossary* we have "*trapezeta* et nummularius et colobista idem sunt qui nummis fenerantur et uilis negotiis," which is a development of a statement made by Jerome in his Commentary to Matthew, XXI. 12: "Sed quia erat Lege praeceptum, ut nemo usuras acciperet, et prodesse non poterat pecunia fenerata, quae commodi nihil haberet, et interdum sortem perderet, excogitaverunt et aliam technam, ut pro nummulariis, *Collybistas* facerent, cujus verbi proprietatem Latina lingua non exprimit. *Collyba* dicuntur apud eos, quae nos appellamus *tragemata*, vel vilia munuscula. Verbi gratia, frixi ciceris, uvarumque passarum, et poma diversi generis. Igitur quia usuras accipere non poterant Collybistae, qui pecuniam fenerati erant, pro usuris accipiebant varias species, ut quod in nummo non licebat, in his rebus exigerent quae nummis coemuntur."[1] Jerome completely misunderstood the case, for a *collybista* was in reality a merchant who exchanged large coin for small coin, called in Greek *κόλλυβον*, hence a *collybista* was as much a money-changer as a *trapezita*.

But the fatal confusion of *collybista* and *colobista*, as though from *colobium* "garment," led early to the identification of *trapezita* with a cloth merchant. We find early in the thirteenth century in Catalonia *drapés*, that is, *trapezita*, for "cloth merchant," for he is mentioned immediately after a *mercer*.[2] But long before that, *trapus* meant "cloth" in Catalonia and Aragon, and in Aragon *molendinum traparium* "cloth mill" was described in full.[3] As we find in Catalonia

[1] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XXVI, col. 150 f.

[2] "Unaquaeque tabula de *drapés* dat unam unciam piperis ad Pascha, et aliam ad Pentecostem, et aliam Natalis Domini" (1221), Capmany, *Memorias historicas . . . de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, Madrid 1779, vol. II, p. 8.

[3] *Forum Turolij*, in *Coleccion de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragon*, Zaragoza 1905, vol. II, p. 153 ff.

draparius[1] by the side of *traparius* just mentioned, the derivation of *drapus* "cloth," recorded from the ninth century on by the side of *trapus*,[2] from *trapezita* would seem to be assured. But that is doubtful, because the transference of the meaning *trapezita*, even under the influence of *colobium*, is not sufficient to settle the fate of a word which is not recorded before the eighth century. Indeed, it is claimed that *drapus* occurs in a seventh century translation of Oribasius. That is not true. The editor[3] calls it a VII–VIII century codex. The word is also found in the *Notae Tironianae*, but these were also written in Carolingian times and prove nothing. The chief reason why the primary derivation from *trapezita* is doubtful is the fact that the form *drap-* and not *trap-* prevailed. To get at the history of the word we must first investigate the history of cloth mills in Europe.

Of course, the Romans and Greeks must have had some idea about cloth mills long before the arrival of the Arabs in Europe, but it is certain, from the Arabic constituent in the cloth manufacturing vocabulary, that the art of utilizing water power for cloth mills,

[1] "Consimiles illis porchis quos ego dono per molendino *drapario* mercatalis" (1166), Balari y Jovany, *Orígenes históricos de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1899, p. 642; "de .i. molendino *drapario* quod est apud auzeda" (1181), *ibid.*; "ad faciendum ibi molendina tam blataria quam *draparia*" (1191), *ibid.*; "ad construenda molendina quotacumque facere uolueritis et potueritis tam blataria quam *draparia*" (1194), *ibid.*

[2] "*Drappos* ad discum parandum" (812), *MGH., Leges*, vol. I, p. 179; "laneas *drapas* variis coloribus intertinctas" (857), Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire . de Bretagne*, Paris 1742, vol. I, col. 303; "pallio defundato, et *drapo* cum serico, et linteo et casulas duas . . . batrino ad luminaria, *drappo* plumato a forma I, tapeto I . . . bursa cum brisdo et simiama, *drappe* plumato super luitrino I, buxta iburnea minore I" (876), Prou and Vidier, *Recueil des Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire*, Paris 1900–1907, vol. I, p. 64 f.; "*drapis* tam lineis quam laneis vel siricis" (905), Bernard and Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, Paris 1876, vol. I, p. 99; "*trapos* polemitos" (957), Villanueva, *Viage literario á las iglesias de España*, Valencia 1821, vol. VI, p. 274; "granum, vinum, *drapos*, ferros, caballos" (950), *HPM., Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, col. 1014.

[3] H. Hagen, *De Oribasii versione latina Bernensi commentatio*, in *Sollemnia anniversaria conditae universitatis*, Bernae 1875, p. 22.

which was practised to a great extent by the Arabs, totally revolutionized the manufacture of cloth in Europe.

The Persian word for "bleacher, fuller" is *gāzur*. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this is a derivative from *gāz* "shears, scissors," which itself is from Assyr. *gizzu* "shearing," hence *lūt gizzu* "wool carder's shop." The large family of Semitic derivatives from this root need not trouble us. We shall only pursue the fate of the Pers. *gāzur*. That Pers. *gāzur* is a derivative is proved by the verb *gāzurī kardan* "to wash, bleach, or full," which is only derived from the noun. This Persian word was taken into Syriac, where we have a large number of derivatives: ܩܨܪ *qçar* "he bleached," ܩܨܳܪܳܐ *qaçårå* "a fuller," ܩܨܪܳܐ *qaçrå* "castle." Hence we have Arab. قصارة *qiṣāraṭ* "the art of bleaching, beating and washing clothes," قصر *qaṣr* "a palace, a pavilion or kind of building wholly or for the most part isolated, sometimes on the top of a larger building, a belvedere, and sometimes projecting from a large building, and generally consisting of one room, if forming a part of a larger building or connected with another building." In the Arabic the relation of fulling to shearing is preserved, in that قصر *qaṣara* also means "it was short." The meaning, "chamber, palace," needs an explanation, as it is given quite incorrectly in Dozy.[1]

In the Persian dictionary we read of two market-places or squares, where saints are buried, mentioned as *gāzur-gāh* "bleaching ground." It would, therefore, be quite natural for the bleachers' quarters to be confused with the bazaar in general, but there is a particular reason for changing a fuller's booth into a belvedere.

[1] *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leyde, Paris 1869, p. 79, sub *alcaiceria*.

The history of the fullers' mills, which may be garnered from the quotations given later, shows that the fullers had their shops over the narrow channel into which the water was forced from the reservoir. The water went through a series of chambers, in each of which a special process of washing took place. Hence a fuller's shop was exactly like an outlying belvedere, or, more correctly, a long corridor or balcony, covered and latticed off or of solid walls, to keep out the dust. This is proved, beyond a shadow of a doubt, from the Spanish documents, where an *alcazar* is either an appurtenance of a mill[1] or a place where venders' booths are found.[2] In Lisbon, according to Viterbo,[3] there is still a tanners' place, called *alcaçarias*, which is a large building, with many houses and merchants' booths, and Ducange records from Navarre a place, *alcazaria*, where the Jews sold their wares.

The fullest account of the *alcazar* comes from southern Italy, where we get a most interesting and most important group of words. Here *alcazar*, from Arab. القصر *alqaṣr*, is changed to *arcatura*, *arcaturia*, and has the meaning of a mill-gallery over the channel.[4]

[1] "Dedit etiam et otorgavit uniquique vecino de Caceres suas casas, haereditates, hortos, molinos, *alcazares*, et totas partitiones quas fecerint per suos Quadrillarios" (1231), *Coleccion de privilegios . . de la Corona de Castilla*, Madrid 1833, vol. VI, p. 92.

[2] "Nos similiter habeamus partem nostram praedictorum secundum numerum militum, et hominum armatorum, qui nobiscum fuerint, retentis nobis *alcaceriis* et staticis regnum in civitatibus ultra debitam porcionem nobis competentem" (1229), Villanueva, *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 314; "cum aliquis Iudaeus emerit aliqua supellectilia siue vestes, et propterea de furto ab aliquo fuerit accusatus: tenetur de eis plenarie respondere sicut quilibet Christianus: nisi in *alcaçaria* tendam locatam tenuerit domini Regis, et ea emerit coram tenda locata" (1247), *Fueros del reyno de Aragon*, Çaragoça 1624, vol. II, *Fori, . . quibus ad praesens non utimur*, fol. 8b.

[3] *Elucidario das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram*, Lisboa 1865.

[4] "Ecclesia beati laurentii in *arcatura*, portionem meam de hortum qui ponitur in ipso loco; volo enim et iuveo hut pro ipsum hortum quod dedi a theofilum filio anatolii levesivi fratris mei parim bice pro ipsum hubicumque in ipso loco abuero sive in salinolas sivi in *arcatura*" (831), *Codex diplomaticus cajetanus*, in *Tabularium casinense*, Monte Casino 1887,

The word is corrupted to *varicatoria*,[1] *barcaturia*,[2] *balcatorium*,[3] *balcheteria*,[4] *balkeria*.[5]

vol. I, p. 8; "licentiam et potestatem abeatis de ipse sorti nostre de predicta aqua clausurie ibidem mictere et iamdicta aqua rebocare in ipso curso de ipsa *arcatura* nostra, qualiter vobis necessum fuerit iusta ratione" (980), *Codex diplomaticus cavensis*, Mediolani, Pisis, Neapoli 1875, vol. II, p. 152; "inclitum ipsum molinum, cum mole et *arcaturia*, et ferraturia, et trasita et exita sua, et curte de ipso molinum ipsius musandi tradidimus" (996), *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 47; "de alia parte coniuntum est cum *arcaturia* de molinum exinde pertinente predicte nostre hecclesie, quod ille similiter compreensum abet . . de una parte fine ipsa *harcaturia*" (1002), *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 7 f.; "a meridie fine *archaturia* de ipso molinu de fluvio saltera, sunt inde passi centum" (1006), *ibid.*, p. 67; "inclita ipsa molina, qualiter conciata vel edificata sunt, cum mole et ferraturia sua, et cum *arcaturiis*, et iscle, et aquarum usibus, et transita et exita sua . . et si ipsa *arcaturia* de ipsa molina plena vel rupta fuerit, ubi nos inde scire fecerint, da presentis illam conciare faciamus, sicut meruerit, et quantum opera perdiderit pro ipsa ruptura et mole et pro generationem, nobis illut imputemus" (1018), *ibid.*, vol. V, p. 3; also *ibid.*, p. 174 (1029), p. 241 (1033), vol. VI, p. 138 (1040), etc.; "molinos cum aquis et *arcaturias* earum seu et cum omnibus aquillationibus" (1033), Capasso, *Monumenta ad neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, Neapoli 1892, vol. II², p. 26; "escatorias et infosarias et molinas cum aquis et *arcaturias* earum seu et cum omnibus aquillationibus et maris piscationibus" (1097), *ibid.*, p. 61; also *ibid.*, pp. 40, 58, 60.

[1] "Medietatem vestram de ex integrum molinum . . una cum integra medietate de omnes fossatas et de *arcaturias* et de hereditas et de molas et ferroras et de alias omnes conciaturias simul vel in eodem molino per quovis modum pertinentibus seu cum aquis et cursoras suas et cum *varicatorias* et viis et anditas et introitas suas" (1060), *ibid.*, p. 39.

[2] "Inclitu molinu . . una cum fossatas et *arcaturias* et reditas et molas et ferroras et omnes conciaturias simul ad eodem molinu pertinentes seu et aquis et cursoras suas et cum *barcaturias* et biis et anditas et introitas suas omnibusque ad suprascriptum integrum molinum per quobis modum generaliter pertinentibus" (1097), *ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] "Indulsimus eidem sacro Monasterio quod habeat munite in perpetuum libertatem ab omni personali potestate sacerdotali et laicali in omni dioecesi sua, in nemoribus, campis, terris, aquis, *balcatoribus*, molendinis, incisione lignorum, pascuis animalium, herba, glandibus arborum, usufructu fluminis, piscaria, annuo absonio de tonnaria Oliverii tonnine barrilia decem" (1092), Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell' epoca normanna in Sicilia*, Palermo 1899, p. 5; "item dixit, quod nullus de eodem castro potest construere Montanum ad aquam, vel ad siccum ad macinandum olivas in eodem castro, vel territorio ejusdem castri, seu molendinum aud *Balcatorium*, vel quodlibet aliud edificium in aquis publicis, seu juxta ipsas aquas, seu derivare de ipsis aquis publicis" (1267), Gattola, *Ad Historiam abbatiae cassinensis accessiones*, Venetiis 1734, vol. I, p. 7.

[4] "A Monachis, et personis dictorum locorum decimas extorquere de molendinis, *balcheteriis*, piscariis, hortis, pascuis, virgultis, et nutrimentis animalium eorundem locorum contra indulta, et privilegia Romanorum Pontificum" (1303), Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, Venetiis 1717, vol. I, col. 383.

[5] "In quo molendino facta est *balkeria* ad faciendum cartas bombiginas et de papiro" (1380), Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell' antica città e ducato di Amalfi*, Salerno 1876, vol. I, p. 566.

But we have also *baricatorium* in the sense of "gallery" or "tower,"[1] and *balchonus* "grocer's booth."[2] From this we get the common *balchio*,[3] *balco*,[4] *valco*[5] "balcony," *ballatorium* "common gallery."[6]

[1] "Et cum illa terra que est foris ipsas turres et predictum murum qualiter vadit ipsa terra usque ad illa porta de calcara cum tota ipsa plagia de ipso angulo et qualiter vadit ipsa plagia et illu *baricatorium* usque ad memorata porta de calcara" (1075), Capasso, *op. cit.*, vol. II², p. 54.

[2] "De datio *balchonorum*. Quelibet persona vendens vel que vendiderit in Leuco vel eius districtu formagium, bedulum, mascharpam, oleum, sonziam, sipum vel sallem aut rem aliquam de rebus predictis in minuto teneatur et debeat dare et solvere dicto comuni sive incantatori dicti datii singullo anno soldos quindecim tertiolorum" (14. cent.), *Statuti dei Laghi di Como e di Lugano*, Roma 1915, vol. II, p. 67.

[3] "Item, statuimus quod nullus audeat vel presummat de die vel de nocte per aliquam fenestram seu hostia domus vel a *balchione* vel aliunde in viis vel stratis publicis seu plateis comunis Forlivii proycere aquam, brodam vel aliquam inmunditiam vel turpitudinem vel proyci facere" (1359), E. Rinaldi, *Statuto di Forli dell' anno. MCCCLIX.*, Roma 1913, p. 242.

[4] "Vendidi ipsam predictam medietatem meam . . . una cum parietibus ostie fenestre et *balcones* suos cum lignaminis tectuminis et guttis tuis et cum trasitis et exitis" (1091), *Codice diplomatico barese*, Bari 1902, vol. V, p. 32; "tradidi ei ipsas duas sortiones qualiter sunt coniuncte cum parietibus suis ostiis fenestris et *balconibus* suis, tectis tegmentis et guttis suis cum trasitibus et exitibus suis et cum omni sua pertinentia intus et de foris ut prelatum est" (1113), *ibid.*, p. 106; "una cum solo ubi posite sunt cum parietibus proprihis et communibus ostiis et *balconibus* et fenestris suis tectum tecmen et guttis suis cum gaifis suis ab utraque parte" (1135), *ibid.*, p. 146.

[5] "Casa et casalinello . . cum parietibus ostie fenestre et *valcones* eorum cum lignamina tectumina et guttis eorum et cum trasitis et exitis eorum" (1099), *ibid.*, p. 52; "quartam de tota iamdicta domo, et de curte, et scala, et astrago, et mediam quartam de tota sortione . . cum omni edificio et labore suo, trasitibus et exitibus suis, omnique ordine suo, omnibusque intra se habentem et continentem parietibus, ostiis, fenestris et *valconibus* suis, lignamine et tectumine et guttis suis, ascensis et descensis suis omnibusque suis pertinentiis" (1102), *ibid.*, p. 61.

[6] "De *ballatorium commune* cum aheribus et aspectibus . . inter ipse grade communes et inter ibsum *ballatorium commune* . . simul et regia communis qui exiet in ibso *ballatorio commune*" (982), *Regii neapolitani archivi monumenta*, Neapoli 1849, vol. III, p. 28 f.; "vos ponere debeatis de ipsum solareum que ego tibi dedi una medium pede et faciamus ipsum parietem ud super legitur et a parte meridiana super ipsa curte commune super ipsa *ballatorias* quantum est ipse solareus tuus memorati leoni que ego tibi dedi ud super legitur iterum facere debeamus in altum podium usque ad pectus omminis at omni communi expendio" (996), *ibid.*, p. 152; "idest unam portionem de transenda, et de casa communi, et de gradis marmoreis et de *ballatorio communi* cum aheribus et aspectibus . . a parte meridiana coheret pariete de ipso cubuculo, ubi abet fenestras et regia sua, quamque *ballatorium commune* de illo et anditum subter et super ipsum cubuculum est

I reserve for a future time the interesting development of this group in the Romance and Germanic languages. Here it is sufficient to point out that in Italy the great variety of words have received precisely the same development as did *alcazar* in Spain. Hence it is in Spain that the cloth mills were developed by the Arabs. And it is here that we find another name for the fullers' mill, *molina traparia* or *draparia*. It is fair to expect here also an Arabic origin. Indeed, we have Arab. ضرب *daraba* "he struck, beat, flagellated." The fullers' mills are frequently called *batatoria*, from the important process of beating the cloth, to give it a close texture, hence the *molina draparia* was merely a translation for *batatorium*, used elsewhere. Indeed, the Germanic languages have preserved this Arabic root in the same or nearly the same significance. We have Goth. *gadraban* "to wallop," hence *dreiban* "to drive," *draibjan* "to annoy." The particular form of Goth. *dreiban* "to drive" is due to Arab. ضريب *darīb* "beaten, struck, a tent peg struck so as to be firm in the ground." OHG. *drīban*, AS. *drifan* "to drive" have preserved the latter meaning, but ONorse *drifa* "to startle, move rapidly" shows better the relation to Arab. ضرب *daraba*.

If a *molina draparia* was a fullers' mill, where cloth was made, *drapus* naturally was applied to the average, more generally to the coarsest, kind of cloth. *Draperius* became the word with which to designate the man who manufactured and sold the cloth, for at that early time the occupation of the merchant was not yet separated from that of the manufacturer. The

cohopertum cum ticulis . . et a parte orientis coheret parietem, qui exfinat ipsum triclineum et inter ipse grade communes et inter ipsum *ballatorium comune*, simul et regia communis que exiet in ipso *ballatorio*" (982), Capasso, *op. cit.*, vol. II¹, p. 148.

history of the cloth manufacture in Europe has yet to be written, but enough may be gathered from the above and the subsequent data to lead to the conclusion that the cloth manufacture in Europe received a renewed impetus from the Arabs in Spain, whence it spread in the ninth century to Flanders, Italy, and Germany. The first cloth merchants could have been only Arabs and Spanish Goths, hence the appearance of so many Gothic colonies in Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries must to a great extent be due to the mercantile propensities of the Goths, which had been fostered by the Arabs. It is only at the end of the ninth century that the Venetians, and still later, that the Pisans, Genoese, etc., took up the Levantine trade, which was opened up by the Arabs and must have been carried on to a great extent by the Arabicized Goths. It is unquestionably these that found their way into the Crimea and the south of Russia, where they have been met up to the sixteenth century.

Tomaschek[1] has built up a whole history of the Crimean Goths, with the account of John, the bishop of the Goths, for his main source. We have already seen how this story has collapsed. It remains to show that the mention of a Gothic country in the Crimea before the end of the eighth century is devoid of historical value. In the Life of Bishop John, *Doros* is mentioned as a chief city of the Goths. It occurs in various Greek authors,[2] but with the exception of Procopius all these authors wrote after the eighth century and cannot be adduced as a proof of the existence of such a city much earlier. Procopius says that there is a region along the sea which is called *Dory*, where the Goths lived who did not follow Theo-

[1] *Die Goten in Taurien*, Wien 1881.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 20, 23.

deric into Italy, and that this region is rich in fruit.[1] Here *Dory* is distinctly mentioned as a region in which there is no city, but where walls are built in the passes of the mountains. And yet, in Priscianus, who wrote at about the same time, we have twice a reference to *Dory* as a city on the Pontus.[2] Obviously something is wrong. What makes matters worse is that outside of the Gothic references no such town or region has been found. As the Priscianus manuscripts are of a date not earlier than the ninth century, the reference to *Dory*, as a city on the Pontus, can only be an interpolation. But Procopius himself is utterly unreliable, because we have already found so many interpolations in him. What, then, is *Dory?*

We have already seen that the bishop of the Goths was purloined from Edessa. Edessa had been connected with Gothic exploits before, as, for example, in the story of *Euphemia and the Goth.*[3] Hence it was natural to make Edessa also a city of the Goths in the Crimea. In the Life of John bar Aphtonia, as elsewhere, this city is called in Syriac *Urhoi.* Either the written form was misread, ܐܘܪܗܝ for ܐܘܪܗܘ, that is, *Dorhoi* for *Urhoi*, or, what is more likely, the constant use of ܐܘܪܗܘ *Daurhoi* "of Edessa," as, for example,

[1] «Διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον τῷ ἐρύματι ἐκρατύνατο, ἥνπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βεβαρβαρωμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς Οὔννοις κειμένην ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς μετήνεγκε κράτος. Ἔστι δέ τις ἐνταῦθα χώρα κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, Δόρυ ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Γότθοι ᾤκηνται, οἳ Θευδερίχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἰόντι οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐθελούσιοι αὐτοῦ μείναντες, Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἐμέ εἰσιν ἔνσπονδοι . . . . . αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ χώρα τὸ Δόρυ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ κεῖται, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τραχεῖα οὔτε σκληρά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθή τε καὶ εὔφορος καρπῶν τῶν ἀρίστων. Πόλιν μὲν οὖν ἡ φρούριον οὐδαμῇ τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτης, κατείργεσθαι περιβόλοις τισὶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένων τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἀσμενέστατα ᾠκημένων ἀεί· ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων βάσιμα εὐπετῶς τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ταύτας δὲ τειχίσμασι μακροῖς τὰς εἰσόδους περιβαλών, τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐφόδου φροντίδας ἀνέστειλε Γότθοις. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πῃ ἔχει,» *De aedificiis*, III. 7. 12-17.

[2] "In Graecis autem invenitur etiam y, ut 'Dory,' nomen oppidi Pontici, et 'Aepy,' " VI. 1. 2; "hoc Dory, hoc Aepy, nomina civitatum," VII. 1. 1.

[3] F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth*, London, Oxford 1913.

in the *Edessa Chronicle*,[1] produced the form *Δόρυ*, in Latin *Doroy*, as recorded in some Priscianus MSS. But the best proof of such a transference from Mesopotamia to the Crimea is given by Procopius himself, for he describes the city of Edessa in precisely the same way as Dory.[2] He tells of the marvellously fruitful region in which there were many gardens, surrounded by a wall that went from mountain to mountain and through which there were many gates. In the interpolated part of Procopius we have the same story, after it passed through a Gothic source. Once it became the firm belief that such a place existed in the Crimea, it was readily quoted as a matter of fact, and the name may really have been attached to some locality. This is made certain by the signature of a Gothic bishop at the Conciliabulum of Trullo, held at the end of the seventh century, as *Γεώργιος ἐπίσκοπος Χερσῶνος τῆς Δώραντος*, which Tomaschek thinks is a mistake, through an omission of *καὶ* before *τῆς Δώραντος*,[3] but which in reality indicates that all the Gothic country along the sea was known as *Δόρυ*. We do not know the date of the signatures. The document in which they occur is of a much later date than the Conciliabulum of Trullo, and so we cannot tell what stood in place of *τῆς Δώραντος* originally, or if there was any such name. But this much is certain, since the name is applied now to a city, now to seashore, now to a whole region, and since it is not found anywhere outside of the Gothic references, it is due to the transference of the martyrdom of John bar Aphtonia to that of John, the bishop of the Goths.

[1] L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik*, in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. IX.

[2] *De aedificiis*, II. 7 and *De bello persico*, II. 27.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

That there were Goths in the south of Russia in the eighth century, there cannot be the slightest doubt; but they were Spanish Goths, who were there in the interest of trade. The chief trade of the Spaniards at that time was in cloth, hence most of the Goths who were in that region must have been *draperii* "cloth merchants," which, since the merchants were also bankers, became in Greek *τραπεζῖται*.

In the *Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον* of Leo the Wise[1] we have the laws in regard to the merchants at Constantinople. First in importance come the *τραπεζῖται*, the money-changers, and it is interesting to observe that other merchants, such as the perfumers, illegally changed money.[2] The next in importance after the *trapezitae* were the *vestiarii*, called in Greek *βεστιοπρᾶται*. These, we are told, sold silk garments, and that many of them were foreigners is clear from a law directed against foreigners in the trade.[3] But what is most important is that the *vestiarii*, *βεστιοπρᾶται*, were distinguished from the *πρανδιοπρᾶται*, who sold eastern silk wares. Here we are specifically told that such wares were imported from Syria, Seleucia and Bagdad, and that these merchants were known as Syrians. The words used here for silk and various silk articles are Arabic,[4] hence under Syrians are to be understood all eastern Arabs.

[1] J. Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet*, Genève 1893–1900, in *Mémoires de l'Institut national Genevois*, vol. XVIII.

[2] «Εἴ τις μυρεψὸς φωραθείη ἢ νομίσματα ξέων ἢ ψαλίζων, ἢ ἀποστρέφων νόμισμα τεταρτηρὸν ἢ δύο τετάρτων ἀκίβδηλον ἔχον τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτῆρα, ἢ τραχύνων τὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα νουμία καὶ μὴ ἐπιδιδοὺς ταῦτα τοῖς τραπεζίταις, τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήμην ὡσανεὶ ἰδιοποιούμενος, τῇ προειρημένῃ ὑποκείσθω εὐθύνῃ,» *ibid.*, p. 42 f.

[3] «Ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι προσήκει τοὺς συνδημίτας καὶ μιτατευομένους μὴ ἐξωνεῖσθαι ἢ κεκωλυμένα ἢ ἄρραφα ἱμάτια, πλὴν εἰ μὴ δι' οἰκείαν περιβολήν, καὶ ταύτην ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ συγκοπτομένην· ἐμφανιζέσθωσαν δὲ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ἐν τῷ ὑποχωρεῖν, ὡς ἂν εἴδησιν ἔχοι τῆς πραγματείας ἣν ἐξωνήσαντο· ὁ δὲ τούτους συγκαλύπτων παιδευέσθω καὶ εἰσκομιζέσθω,» *ibid.*, p. 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 29, note.

This leads then to a certainty that among the *vestiarii* were chiefly western nations, and if there were Goths among them, they were, like the *Γότθοι τραπεζῖται*, *Vestgothi*, Goths who sold silks, from *vestis* used in this particular sense. But such an etymology, which survived in reality and gave rise to the Germanic words for "west," was not good enough for the contemporary historical forgers. They had to get an Arabic etymology. This readily offered itself. The Goths in the Levant mediated in the trade between the *Visu* and the west. It was they, who, to judge from Jordanes, brought the black beaver furs to Rome. The Arabic geographer Yakut says that the merchants went up the Volga to the country of the *Visu*, to get beaver, sable, and squirrel furs;[1] and from various accounts[2] it appears that it was not the *Visu* who came to the markets of the Bulgars, but that the Arabs and Bulgars and, obviously, other merchants proceeded from the south northward. Hence it was natural enough to identify the *Vestgothi* with *Visigothi*, Goths who carried on a trade with the north, through Russia. But in either case we had a set of traders who were distinct from those coming from eastern Arabic countries. They were the Westgoths, hence *Visigothi* became the appellation for the western, that is, Spanish Goths. To the Arabs all those who were from the east were الشراقوة *aššrāqūṭ* "Levantines, Orientals," that is, *Ostrogothi*. This Arabic word is still in use, it being an irregular plural from الشرقي *aš-šariqiy* "Oriental, Levantine," in Alcalá, "levante viento oriental."

This brings us at once to the important conclusion that all works pretending to be of an earlier date, in which *Ostrogothi* and *Visigothi* occur, were either inter-

[1] Fraehn, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 211 ff., 218.

polated after 711 or are downright forgeries. From this there is no escape. Now it is necessary to prove that none of the Germanic denominations of the four regions of the earth can be of any native origin.

OHG. *nort, nord* "north" is recorded early. It is found in a Latin form in all the works which drew on the *Antiquitas*. Jordanes says, "habet quoque is ipse inmensus pelagus in parte *artoa*, id est septentrionali, amplam insulam nomine Scandzan,"[1] that is, he refers to the northern region of the sea as "pars *artoa*," that is, *arctoa*. The northern ocean is distinctly called "Oceanus *arctous*."[2] The northernmost nation in that region is "*arctoa* gens."[3] Paulus Diaconus in the very beginning of his *Historia Langobardorum* speaks of "tantae populorum multitudines *arctoo* sub axe,"[4] while the Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna constantly uses these terms for the northern region of the sea.[5] The word, of course, is not rare in the Latin poets, but the distinct use made of it in reference to the region now known as Norway, makes it certain that some such expression as *Oceano artoo* produced the *nort* of the OHGerman.

The expression for "south" in OHGerman is directly due to an Arabic gloss. In the eighth century we meet in Italy with *sundrium* or "curtis *sundrialis*."[6] From

[1] I (9).

[2] "Est in Oceani *arctoi* salo posita insula magna, nomine Scandza," III (16).

[3] "In cuius parte *arctoa* gens Adogit consistit," III (19); also "*arctoi* gentes," XXIII (116).

[4] I. 1.

[5] "Sol sub profunditate Oceani *arctoam* (*artoam*) partem noctu exambulat," Pinder and Parthey, *op. cit.*, p. 22; "*arctoae* partis descriptorem," *ibid.*, p. 23; "sol igniformus partem *arctoam* (*arttoam*) ambulat," *ibid.*; "in *arctoam* partem infra Oceani mare," *ibid.*, p. 24; "per latum Oceanum *arctoae* regiones ponuntur," *ibid.*, p. 27; "quando litus totum *arctoum* Oceanum ambulavit," *ibid.*, p. 32.

[6] "Tam de *sundro* quam et de casas trivutarias" (747), *Memorie e documenti per servire all' istoria del ducato di Lucca*, Lucca 1837, vol. V², p. 25; "angaria ad *sundro* domnico facere debeamus" (759), *ibid.*, p. 40; "sala unam *sundrialem* seu et unam casa massaricia" (782), *ibid.*, p. 110; "unam

the quotations it appears that it is not a tributary possession, since it is opposed to "tributaria," nor a "massaricia," which is of a higher degree, but not yet an immunity, since it is opposed to "massaricia." From the fact that it is quoted in the second place, after "domo-cultiles," which is apparently land held by immunity, it would seem to be a piece of land attached to an immunity, and, possibly, possessing rights of immunity. This would seem to be clearly the case in the Lucca document of the year 759, where corvée is due on the lord's *sundrium*.[1] In two docu-

casella *sundriale* qui fuit cella meraria" (782), *ibid.*; "ipsa vinea *sondriale*" (788), *ibid.*, p. 133; "omnia et in omnibus quantum ad ipse suprascripte case est pertinentes, vel in jamdicte locas abere videor, tam *sundrialibus* casis et rebus, quam et massaricias" (794), *ibid.*, p. 146; "tam *sundriales* res, quam et massaricias" (801), *ibid.*, p. 174; "tres petie de clausura inter terra et vinea quod sunt *sundrialibus* . . medietate silva in tua reservasti potestatem *sundriale*" (824), *ibid.*, p. 276; "*sundrio* illo tuo, quas in suprascripto loco Casule abis" (827), *ibid.*, p. 295; "quod est inter predictas ambas petias de vinea *sundriale* . . de orto *sundriale*, quem habuet Pertilo ante casa sua" (762), *ibid.*, vol. IV[1], *Documenti*, p. 97; "curtes *sundriales*, casas massaricias, et aldionales" (763), *ibid.*, p. 99; "tam casis domo cultiles, et *sundriales*, quam et casas massaricias" (771), *ibid.*, p. 121; "silvas *sundriales*" (779), *ibid.*, p. 140; "res meas *sundriales* et massaricias, adque aldiaricias casas" (789), *ibid.*, p. 166; "movilia atque immovilia, tam *fundriales* res, quam et massaricias" (809), *ibid.*, p. 21; "campo nostro *sundriale*" (762), C. Troya, *Codice diplomatico longobardo dal DLXVIII al DCCLXXIV*, Napoli 1855, vol. V, p. 165; "fundamento nostro *sundriale*" (762), *ibid.*; "curtes *sundriales*" (764), *ibid.*, p. 248; "coloni de ipsa curte de Taurento . . cum omni *sondro* suo, ex integro" (766), J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, Lucae 1739, vol. II, p. 661.

[1] "In Dei nomine. Regnante dn. nostro Desiderio et Adelghis regibus. Anno regni eorum tertio et primo, mense octubri, per inditione XIII. feliciter. Repromittimus adque manus nostra facimus nos Gumfrid et Baruncio germani filii qd. Barucci tibi dn. Peredeo in Dei nom. Episc. de casare et res illa, quem nobis ad resedendo dedisti in loco Saltucclo, casa cum curte et orto, vineis terris silvis olivetis omnia ad ipsa casa pertenente, qualiter ipsa casa Barruccio ad manum suam abuit, nobis ad resedendo et meliorando dedisti. In tali tenure ut per omne annum tibi reddere debeamus uno soldo bono expendibile, et medietatem vino et angaria ad sundro domnico facere debeamus, qualiter ibidem utilitas fuerit in ipso loco Saltucclo," *Memorie e documenti . . di Lucca*, vol. V[2], p. 39 f.

ments, of the year 798[1] and 806,[2] *peculiarina* is used for the corvée due the owner. As "*peculiare* prato" occurs already in 722,[3] it is clear that *sundrium* and *peculiare* are identical. Fortunately we have the term *suntelites*, from Gr. *συντελίτης*, used specifically[4] in the sense of the Frankish king's officer who determines land questions and collects the dues. This proves that the term *συντελεῖν* "to pay taxes" was a current term over a wide territory. But we have the very common Graeco-Latin gloss, "immunis *ἀτελής*," and specifically "immunes fundi *ἀσυντελῆ χωρία*," which show that *sundrium*, *sundriale* developed from *συντελῆ* or *ἀσυντελῆ*, and was referred to a parcel of land belonging to the immunity, but lying in the outlying district; hence it was also known as *peculiaris*.[5]

[1] "Exemplar. In Dei nomine. Regnante dn. nostro Carolo rege Francorum ec. ac Patricio Romanorum, anno regni ejus quo Langubardiam coepit vigisimo quarto: et filio ejus dn. nostro Pipino rege, anno regni ejus septimo decimo, nono kal. aprilis, inditione sexta. Repromitto, et manus mea facio ego Hosprando cler. filium qd. Calvuli tibi dn. venerabili Johannem in Dei nom. Episcopo, ut ego cunctis diebus vite mee resedere et abitare debeam in una casa Eccl. vestre S. Martini, que est ipsa casa in loco Ligori, ubi antea Ghitiolo resedit; et ipsam predictam casam, una cum omni res ad eam pertenentem in omnibus bene lavorare et meliorare promicto, non alibi peculiarina faciendo, et per singulos annos ego vel meis hered. tibi vel success. tuis exinde reddere debeamus et persolvere omnem usum vel reddito ipse case, sive et angaria. Unde spondeo ego q. s. Hosprando cler. una cum meis heredibus tibi dn. Johanni in Xti nom. Episc. et subcess. tuis, ut si nos in ipsa casa non abitaverimus, et omnem ipsa res bene non lavoraverimus et non melioraverimus, et vobis per singulos annos omnem justitiam vel angaria, ut usum fuit, de predicta casa non adimpleverimus, aut exinde foris exire quesierimus alivi ad avitandum, spondeo cum heredibus meis tibi et success. tuis comp. penam auri solid. numero viginti: et hec mea promissio in predicto ordinem firmiter permaneat," *ibid.*, p. 157 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[4] *MGH., Leges*, sec. V, *Formulae*, p. 56.

[5] It so happens that the Syriac law in which *συντέλεια* is used gives us a precise account of what a *sundrium* was. This law says that the mountain land is recorded by special officers and country people from other districts, who determine how much wheat or oats the mountain land may produce. Similarly, they record the pasture land for the sheep, on which a *συντέλεια* is to be paid into the treasury, which is determined at one, two, or three denars, and is collected by the Romans in April for the horses of the army (J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota syriaca*, Lugduni Batavorum 1862, vol. I, p. 154, E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, Berlin 1907, vol. I, pp. 135, 197). As *sundrium* does

This gave rise to Goth. *sundro* "separate," OHG. *sundaric* "separate, distinct," *suntriga* "peculium, privilegium," and the large number of words from this root represented in all the Germanic languages.

But in OHGerman we have also *sundar* "south," later contracted to *sunt*, *sund*, giving rise to AS. *suđ*. It did not occur to anyone, as far as I know, to connect this word with *sundar* "separate." We turn to the Arabic and find there جنوب *ǵanūb* "the southwind," from the Lat. *Canopus*, the southern star, with which the south is connected. But this word happened popularly to be derived from the root جنب *ǵanaba* "he placed a distance away, removed, went aside," جنب *ǵunub* "distant, remote," hence جناب *ǵanāb* "a vicinage, or tract adjacent to the place of abode or settlement," etc. Thus the corresponding word for "apart," namely, OHG. *sundar*, under the influence of some Arabic glossary, was used to express also "the south."

I have already shown how "west" and "east" arose. We can now turn to the OHG. *ostarun* "Easter." In chapter XV of his *De temporum ratione*, Bede gives a list of the ASaxon months.[1] April is here called

not occur anywhere before 747, and συντέλεια, as the name of the pasture which is attached to an immunity, but pays a certain tribute, is totally unknown in Roman or Greek law, it is most likely that the term appeared in Lucca through a Gothic source. I have already pointed out the amazing resemblance in the regulations pertaining to mountain land in Italy to those in Spain (*Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, Cambridge 1915, p. 136 ff.) It is, therefore, more than probable that the term in Lucca is ultimately due to the Syriac law, where συντέλεια is connected only with the "ager *peculiaris*," that is, "cattle land."

[1] "Antiqui autem Anglorum populi (neque enim mihi congruum videtur, aliarum gentium annalem observantiam dicere, et meae reticere) juxta cursum lunae suos menses computavere; unde et a luna Hebraeorum et Graecorum more nomen accipiunt. Si quidem apud eos luna mona, mensis monath appellatur. Primusque eorum mensis, quem Latini Januarium vocant, dicitur Giuli. Deinde Februarius Sol-Monath, Martius Rhed-monath, Aprilis Eostur-monath, Maius Thrimylchi, Junius Lida, Julius similiter Lida, Augustus Vueod-monath, September Haleg-monath, October

Eostur-monath, and we are told that it was called so from the goddess *Eostre*, whose holiday was celebrated in that month. We have also the Ger. *Ostara*, the goddess of spring, that is, the rising sun. We do not have to go very far for the etymology of this word. The same Arabic word which produced the *Ostrogoths*, produced also *Ostara*, for الشرق *'aš-šarq* means "the rising sun." But we have positive evidence that either Bede was acquainted with the *Antiquitas* from the Arabic source, or else the whole chapter of the English months is a forgery of a later time. He says that both December and January were called

Vuinter-fylleth, November Blod-monath, December Giuli, eodem quo Januarius nomine, vocatur. Incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht, id est, matrum noctem, appellabant, ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea pervigiles agebant. Et quotiescunque communis esset annus, ternos menses lunares singulis anni temporibus dabant. Cum vero embolismus, hoc est, XIII mensium lunarium annus occurreret, superfluum mensem aestati apponebant, ita ut tunc tres menses simul Lida nomine vocarentur, et ob id annus ille Thri-lidi cognominabatur, habens IV menses aestatis, ternos ut semper temporum caeterorum. Item principaliter annum totum in duo tempora, hyemis, videlicet, et aestatis dispartiebant, sex illos menses quibus longiores noctibus dies sunt aestati tribuendo, sex reliquos hyemi. Unde et mensem quo hyemalia tempora incipiebant Vuinter-fylleth appellabant, composito nomine ab hyeme et plenilunio, quia videlicet a plenilunio ejusdem mensis hyems sortiretur initium. Nec ab re est si et caetera mensium eorum quid significent nomina interpretari curemus. Menses Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei, quia unus eorum praecedit, alius subsequitur, nomina accipiunt. Sol-monath dici potest mensis placentarum, quas in eo diis suis offerebant; Rhed-monath a dea illorum Rheda, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur; Eostur-monath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quae Eostre vocabatur, et cui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit, a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant; consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes. Tri-milchi dicebatur, quod tribus vicibus in eo per diem pecora mulgebantur. Talis enim erat quondam ubertas Britanniae, vel Germaniae, de qua in Britanniam natio intravit Anglorum. Lida dicitur blandus, sive navigabilis, quod in utroque mense et blanda sit serenitas aurarum, et navigari soleant aequora. Vueod-monath mensis zizaniorum, quod ea tempestate maxime abundent. Haleg-monath mensis sacrorum. Vuinter-fylleth potest dici composito novo nomine hyemeplenilunium. Blot-monath mensis immolationum, quia in ea pecora quae occisuri erant diis suis voverent. Gratias tibi, bone Jesu, qui nos, ab his vanis avertens, tibi sacrificia laudis offerre donasti," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XC, col. 356 f.

Giuli, and that they were so called from the increase in the sun's warmth. Now, we have in Gothic *fruma jiuleis* for November, hence December must also have been called *jiuleis*. The writing *Giuli* in ASaxon is, no doubt, due to a borrowing from the Gothic, where *j* looks like *g*. The Christian Arabs call, from the Syriac, December كانون الاول *kānūn 'al-'awwal*, and January كانون الثاني *kānūn 'aṣ-ṣānī*. *Kānūn* means "warming pan, brazier," hence the two months are called respectively the first and the second brazier. اول, when left unaccented, could easily be read *iul*, and it is this which the *Antiquitas* took for the name of both December and January, or, in the Gothic calendar, of November and December, while *kānūn* led to connecting *iul* with "log, that which is burning." June and July are given in Bede as *Lida*, and he goes on to say that the English had a lunar month, hence they had to add a third *Lida* month, whence such a year was called *thri-lidi*. Who does not see that we have here a description of the Arabic or Syrian year? Among the Syrians October and November had the same name, *Tišrīn*, while among the ancient Arabs we have similarly two sets of months by the same name, namely, *Rabī'* and *Jumādā*.[1] The whole speculation on the Germanic months is based on some apocryphal Arabic source, which it may still be possible to ascertain. Thus, for example, Bede says that the day corresponding to Christmas was called by the Germans *modranicht*, that is, "the mothers' night." This apparently refers to Syr. *Mārt Maryam*, literally "Lady Mary," whose feast fell on the Friday after Christmas,[2] or it may be The Fasting of Our Lady Mary, which begins on Monday after Sunday of Subbār, and ends on

[1] E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London 1879, p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

Christmas day.[1] Meanwhile the names for April, December, and January show unmistakably how the Germanic calendar was made up.

But to return to our Tetraxite Goths. We have a definite reference to them in Jordanes, from a source which he brushes aside as not trustworthy, because it is not contained in the *Antiquitas*, which he quotes. Jordanes says that at Cherson, that is, in the region where we have found mentioned the Tetraxite Goths, there lived the Hunnish *Altziagiri*, who were different from the *Saviri*. It was to them that the greedy merchants brought the goods of Asia. These Altziagiri roamed about in the summer and lived in the winter near the Pontus. They are the noted Hunuguri, since from them comes the commerce in furs, *and they were enriched by the boldness of so many men who first lived in Scythia near the Maeotis, then in Mysia, Thrace, and Dacia, then again near the Pontus.* "We were unable to find an account of their story by those who say that they were enslaved in Britain or some island and snatched away at the price of one horse. Certainly, if anyone in our city would say that they were of different origin from what we have said, he would be defying us; but we prefer to believe what is written, rather than to follow old wives' fairy tales."[2] Even the editor

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[2] "Ultra quos distendunt supra mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes, quos notissimos peccatorum nostrorum mala fecerunt. hinc iam Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. nam alii Altziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas: iuxta Chersonam Altziagiri, quo Asiae bona avidus mercator importat, qui aestate campos pervagant effusas sedes, prout armentorum invitaverint pabula, hieme supra mare Ponticum se referentes. Hunuguri autem hinc sunt noti, quia ab ipsis pellium murinarum venit commercium: quos tantorum virorum formidavit audacia. quorum mansione prima in Scythiae solo iuxta paludem Meotidem, secundo in Mysiam Thraciamque et Daciam, tertio supra mare Ponticum rursus in Scythia legimus habitasse: nec eorum fabulas alicubi repperimus scriptas, qui eos dicunt in Brittania vel in unaqualibet insularum in servitute redactos et in unius caballi praetio

had to suggest that the reference was to the Goths.[1] What has happened is clear. The forger knew full well that the merchants along the Pontus were the Goths who had been enslaved in Spain by the Arabs, and he knew that these Goths were the same that had originally lived near the Maeotis and in Moesia; but that interfered with his story of the Goths, so he denied them as a myth. Thus the myth became history, and real history was turned into a myth. From what follows it is perfectly clear that Jordanes was speaking of the Goths, for he goes on to say that they at first lived near the Maeotis, then in Dacia, Thrace, and Moesia, and the history, as he finds it in the *Antiquitas*, begins to the detriment of truth. Jordanes had the correct story, which he brushed aside, from an Arabic source, for the *Altziagiri*, whom he mentions, do not exist anywhere else, and are nothing but the *Al-saviri*, of whom he makes a separate race. But the definite reference to the Goths as *cupidi mercatores* shows that the τραπεζῖται of Procopius comes from the same or a similar Arabic source.

The hodge-podge method of the forger, Jordanes or his predecessor, in concocting a Gothic history, has already been made clear in what precedes. Anything which even distantly could be expounded as related to the Goths, namely, accounts of Thracians, Dacians, Getae, Massagetae, Scythians, etc., was thrown into the witches' cauldron to be boiled into history. Telephus, the son of Hercules, who in Greek mythology is connected with Mysia, becomes a Gothic king, because *Mysia* is *Moesia*, and in Moesia there were Goths.[2] Tomyris of the Massagetae, who is by the

a quodam ereptos. aut certe si quis eos aliter dixerit in nostro urbe, quam quod nos diximus, fuisse exortos, nobis aliquid obstrepebit: nos enim potius lectioni credimus quam fabulis anilibus consentimus," V (37–38).

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 63, in note.

[2] IX (58 ff.).

Greeks connected with Persia, becomes a Gothic queen who goes to Moesia and there founds the city of *Tomes.*[1] Sitalces, king of Thrace in the time of the Peloponnesian war, becomes a leader of the Goths.[2] It is useless to waste time on the investigation of such perfectly worthless stuff. But there is one bold plagiarism which demands a thorough investigation, on account of the enormous influence it has had upon Germanic history, mythology, and literature, and because it at one fell swoop discloses a large number of literary forgeries, which have been accepted as genuine heretofore, and which, in the light of my investigation, will tumble like a house of cards. This plagiarism deals in Jordanes with *Hermanric*, who in Germany produces *Arminius*, the symbol of German greatness and power.

After Geberich, the king of the Goths, says Jordanes, came Hermanric, the noblest of the Amali, who conquered many northern nations and made them obey his law. A large number of nations, not recorded anywhere else, are then recorded as having come under his rule. He conquered the Heruli; then he carried war into the country of the Veneti, who now are called Antes and Sclaveni and are now threatening "us" on account of "our" sins, but then were subjected to Hermanric. Then Jordanes proceeds to tell all about the Huns and other savage tribes. Hermanric, angered at the misdeeds of the husband of a certain woman, Sunilda, of the race of Rosomoni, had her torn to pieces by horses, after which her brothers, Sarus and Ammius, avenged her death by wounding him in his side. Meanwhile the Huns attacked him, and he grieved over the matter and died in his one hundred and tenth year.

[1] X (61).
[2] X (66).

It is then that the Huns prevailed over the Ostrogoths.[1] As we hear immediately afterwards of Valentinian and Valens, it is clear that Jordanes means to place the reign of Hermanric before 364.

[1] "Nam Gothorum rege Geberich rebus humanis excedente post temporis aliquod Hermanaricus nobilissimus Amalorum in regno successit, qui multas et bellicosissimas arctoi gentes perdomuit suisque parere legibus fecit. quem merito nonnulli Alexandro Magno conparavere maiores. habebat si quidem quos domuerat Golthescytha Thiudos Inaunxis Vasinabroncas Merens Mordens Imniscaris Rogas Tadzans Athaul Navego Bubegenas Coldas. sed cum tantorum servitio clarus haberetur, non passus est nisi et gentem Herulorum, quibus praeerat Halaricus, magna ex parte trucidatam reliquam suae subegeret dicioni. nam praedicta gens, Ablavio istorico referente, iuxta Meotida palude inhabitans in locis stagnantibus, quas Greci ele vocant, Eluri nominati sunt, gens quantum velox, eo amplius superbissima. nulla si quidem erat tunc gens, quae non levem armaturam in acie sua ex ipsis elegeret. sed quamvis velocitas eorum ab aliis crebro bellantibus evagaret, Gothorum tamen stabilitate subiacuit et tarditati, fecitque causa fortunae, ut et ipsi inter reliquas gentes Getarum regi Hermanarico servirent. post Herulorum cede item Hermanaricus in Venethos arma commovit, qui, quamvis armis despecti, sed numerositate pollentes, primum resistere conabantur. sed nihil valet multitudo inbellium, praesertim ubi et deus permittit et multitudo armata advenerit. nam hi, ut in initio expositionis vel catalogo gentium dicere coepimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina ediderunt, id est Venethi, Antes, Sclaveni; qui quamvis nunc, ita facientibus peccatis nostris, ubique deseviunt, tamen tunc omnes Hermanarici imperiis servierunt. Aestorum quoque similiter nationem, qui longissimam ripam Oceani Germanici insident, idem ipse prudentia et virtute subegit omnibusque Scythiae et Germaniae nationibus ac si propriis lavoribus imperavit," XXIII (116–120). "Quod genus expeditissimum multarumque nationum grassatorem Getae ut viderunt, paviscunt, suoque cum rege deliberant, qualiter tali se hoste subducant. nam Hermanaricus, rex Gothorum, licet, ut superius retulimus, multarum gentium extiterat triumphator, de Hunnorum tamen adventu dum cogitat, Rosomonorum gens infida, quae tunc inter alias illi famulatum exhibebat, tali eum nanciscitur occasione decipere. dum enim quandam mulierem Sunilda nomine ex gente memorata pro mariti fraudulento discessu rex furore commotus equis ferocibus inligatam incitatisque cursibus per diversa divelli praecipisset, fratres eius Sarus et Ammius, germanae obitum vindicantes, Hermanarici latus ferro petierunt; quo vulnere saucius egram vitam corporis inbecillitate contraxit. quam adversam eius valitudinem captans Balamber rex Hunnorum in Ostrogotharum parte movit procinctum, a quorum societate iam Vesegothae quadam inter se intentione seiuncti habebantur. inter haec Hermanaricus tam vulneris dolore quam etiam Hunnorum incursionibus non ferens grandevus et plenus dierum centesimo decimo anno vitae suae defunctus est. cuius mortis occasio dedit Hunnis praevalere in Gothis illis, quos dixeramus orientali plaga sedere et Ostrogothas nuncupari," XXIV (129–130).

The accounts of the death of Julian the Apostate have all been collected and classified.[1] It appears that up to the end of the fourth century the authors, who knew of Julian's death from the accounts of eye-witnesses, agreed to this, that Julian was killed in Armenia or Persia, while making war upon Persia, by a spear-thrust from an unknown enemy, either a Persian, an Arab, or a Christian.[2] There is absolutely nothing mythical in the story and no reference to any Christian glorification in the last moments of the emperor.

In Sozomenus, Socrates, Theodoretus, and Philostorgius, we find the statement that Julian, when dying, exclaimed that the sun had killed him, and that the Galilean had conquered or was about to be satisfied.[3] We have already seen that these ecclesiastic writers have been interpolated at a later time, and so it is not certain that these references to the sun already existed in the fifth century. In fact, it is highly probable that we have here seventh or eighth century interpolations. If, however, it could be proved that these passages are genuine, we should have the intrusion of a Persian story through the Syriac at least a century earlier than authentically reported from Syriac sources.

The whole story of the death of Julian from an arrow sent by the sun and indicating the victory of the Galilean, that is, the sun, is taken from the *Bundehesh*, chapter VI: "Of the struggle of the creations of the world with the opposition of Ahriman the following is told in Holy Writ: After Ahriman ran in and saw the bravery of the Yazatas and his own weakness, he wanted to run away again. The spirit of heaven was

[1] R. Nostitz-Rieneck, *Vom Tode des Kaisers Julian*, in *XVI. Jahresbericht des öffentlichen Privatgymnasiums an der Stella Matutina zu Feldkirch*, Feldkirch 1907, p. 1 ff.; Th. Büttner-Wobst, *Der Tod des Kaisers Julian*, in *Philologus*, vol. LI, p. 561 ff.

[2] Nostitz-Rieneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–12.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12–15.

like a warrior who has on his coat of mail, all ready for the fray. Heaven took up the struggle against Ahriman, until Ormuzd had built a stronghold around him. Then the Fravashis, that is, the manes, of the warriors and saints, were on horseback, with spears in their hands, which spears hung from heaven like hairs on the head, just as warriors are behind a fortification. Then Ahriman found no place to which he could run. He saw the fall of the Daevas and his own impotence, as well as the ultimate victory of Ormuzd and the resurrection in eternity."[1]

In the sixth century the Syrians begin to connect the death of Julian with the martyr Mercurius. In the romance of Julian the Apostate Saint Mercurius appears to Jovian in a dream, all accoutered and with a bow and three arrows. He informs Jovian that he will kill Julian in less than three weeks. Then comes the battle between Julian and Sapor. A heavenly voice announces the outcome of the battle, when Julian begins to blaspheme the voice of the Nazarene. Then an arrow pierces his breast, and he takes some blood from his wound, and, throwing it up to heaven, exclaims: "Be satiated, Jesus, be satiated, and have enough, for you have now not only the divine attributes, but also royal power."[2] It is not necessary to dwell on the Mercury motive in Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and later writers,[3] except to mention that the place where Julian is killed is variously called *Asia*, *Rasia*, *Phrygia*.[4] The account given in Malalas is practically the same as in the *Chronicon Paschale*. Julian asked what the name of the place was where he was hurt, and, upon hearing that it was called

[1] F. Justi, *Der Bundehesh*, Leipzig 1868, chap. VI, p. 8 f.
[2] Nostitz-Rieneck, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17 ff., and H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris 1909, p. 96 ff.
[4] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 99, note 1, and Nostitz-Rieneck, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Rasia or *Asia*, he exclaimed, "O Sun, thou has conquered Julian," and, throwing some blood in the air, he gave up the ghost. Obviously, the sun has something to do with the place where Julian was struck down.

In the *Bundehesh* Ahriman sees that it is all up with him, when the *Fravashis* unite in war against him. The *Bundehesh* is too late to determine the form of the word for "manes" in the fifth century. It is there written *frahvar*, Mod. Pers. *fravar*, while in *Yašt* XIII, where we have the fullest reference to these spirits, as elsewhere in the *Avesta*, we have *fravašay*. This would suggest to a Semite one of the many roots beginning with *fr-*, which mean "separation, liberation." And truly in the Syriac story the arrow by which Julian is struck down is called ܓܪܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ *gerâ depūrqânâ* "an arrow of salvation." The Latin or Greek borrower from the Syriac thought that this meant "an arrow from Phrygia," and thus a particular locality, *Phrygia*, *Rasia*, *Asia*, was evolved. But it is clear that Julian-Ahriman, upon seeing that he was besieged from heaven by Fravashis, exclaimed that the kingdom of the sun was now assured.

Just as in the *Bundehesh*, so does the Syriac story have the voice of the defeat come from heaven, and the manner in which Julian is actually struck down, namely, by Saint Mercurius, is due to a misunderstanding, or, rather, too literal an interpretation of the Persian story. The whole *Yašt* VIII is devoted to *Tištrya*, the star Sirius, the leader of Ormuzd in his fight against Ahriman. Tištrya goes down to the sea like the swift arrow of the best bowman. He spurts the water over all evil things, and Ahriman cannot cope with him. He fills the seas and the lands with water, and is the greatest good of man. In the *Bundehesh*, Ahriman, after his encounter with heaven, tried

his strength with the ruler over the waters, Tištrya. Ormuzd gave Tištrya unusual strength, so that one of the Daevas flew a whole parasang away from him, whence it is said that it was the strength of an arrow which flies a parasang that Tištrya had. Tištrya's position in heaven is that of the cancer, "wherefore the month *tir* belongs to the cancer, where Tištrya jumped in and did his work as the producer of rain. Then the water was carried upwards by the power of the wind. Tištrya's helpers were Vohumano and Yazata Haoma, under the guidance of Yazata Borz and of the Fravashis of the pure."[1]

The month which is sacred to Tištrya is called *tir*, that is, "arrow." But *tir* also means "the star Mercury." Thus it is really Mercury who is the arrow and strikes Ahriman. In the Syriac story Mercurius appears in a coat of mail; so do the Fravashis in the *Bundehesh*, and it is Tištrya who sends the arrow, that is, Mercury, to strike down the power of Ahriman. In the *Bundehesh*, as in the *Yašt*, Tištrya spurts the waters as high as heaven and saturates the earth and the seas. In the Syrian story, Julian throws his blood up, and exclaims, "Be satiated and have enough!"

It is not merely parallels that we have in both cases, but the Syriac story is based directly on the Persian account of Ahriman's fall, and was produced through the misunderstanding of one term, *fravašay*, and the pun of the word *tir* in the *Bundehesh*.

There is an awkward passage in the account of Julian's death in Ammianus Marcellinus. According to this, Julian is struck in a natural way by a horseman's lance.[2] When he saw that he was dying, he asked what the name of the place was, and, upon hearing that it was called *Phrygia*, he knew at once that he

[1] Chap. VII.

[2] There is even here an awkward word, "incertum," which makes no meaning and is rejected by the editors.

was going to die, because he had heard so in an oracle.[1] As *Phrygia* could have arisen only from the Syriac "arrow of salvation," it is clear that we have here at least an interpolation, if not a downright forgery. We shall find a still worse forgery in Ammianus later on. It is certainly curious that not a word was ever written about Ammianus before the sixteenth century, except a short reference to a sentence from the fourteenth book in Priscianus, XI. 51, and that the work of Marcellinus, which Poggio claimed to have found at Hersfeld or Fulda, should almost begin with that sentence, for he claimed to have found Marcellinus only beginning with book XIV. It looks as though Poggio used the sentence in Priscianus as a basis for his fabrication.[2]

The Syriac phrase, ܓܪܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ *gerâ depūrqânâ*, "an arrow of salvation, or separation," caused the Arabs a great deal of trouble. The Syrians themselves must have had difficulty in explaining it. The Arabs translated it literally as سهم غرب *sahmun garbun*, or *sahmu garbin*, "the arrow of separation,"[3] which the lexicographers had to explain as "an arrow of which the author was not known, an arrow that is shot and strikes another." It is this difficulty which the Arabs had in telling precisely what was meant by the strange phrase that later caused the confusion in the *Harman* story, as it reached the Teutons.

If there is any lingering doubt left as to the identification of Julian with Harman, that will be at once dispelled by the specific reference to Julian as Harman in the seventh century Syriac chronicle, which has

[1] "Ideo spe deinceps uiuendi absumpta, quod percunctando *Phrygiam* appellari locum ubi ceciderat conperit. hic enim obiturum se praescripta audierat sorte," XXV. 3. 9.

[2] It seems, however, more likely that it is an eighth century forgery.

[3] Th. Nöldeke, *Ueber den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXVIII, p. 292.

come down to us in an eighth century copy. Here we are told that Julian was killed by the hands of the Romans, either in Chaldaea or in Aramaea. At the same time the Lord was angry at the cities of the Gentiles and Jews and Samaritans, and the southern cities which taught Julian's false doctrines, wherefore he destroyed twenty-one of them. In June of 363 Jovinian gained glory for himself to the north of Caucaba and Ctesiphon and established peace between the Romans and Persians by giving to the latter the country around Nisibis and all of Armenia, which had obeyed *Harman.*[1] Thus there is not a particle of doubt left that Julian was *Harman.*

In Jordanes he becomes *Hermanric*, who ruled over the northern country, which he conquered and made to obey his law. But the mysterious arrow of the Syriac story here becomes the two brothers, *Sarus* and *Ammius*, who wound Hermanric for his cruel treatment of their sister, *Sunilda.* This *Sunilda* is also taken out of a Syriac romance of Julian.[2] Here Julian is represented as a recreant who has cheated Eleuthera, the daughter of the Roman counterking Licinius and a sister of Constantine, out of her property. Eleuthera's spirit begs Constantine to avenge her wrongs. "What shall I do for you?" he asks. "Let him swear to me upon the column which guards the watchtower, that he has not done me any wrong, and then I will never again accuse him." When Julian hears that the Emperor is going to apprehend him, he goes to his friend, the magician Magnus, who takes him to the column, in order to save him from the wrath of the demons. In order to escape being found out as a cheat, Julian agrees, at the request of the demon,

[1] *Libri chalipharum*, fol. 39v., in J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota syriaca*, Lugduni Batavorum 1862, vol. I, p. 6 of the Syriac text.

[2] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXVIII, p. 660 ff.

to sacrifice to him. Three days later Julian returns to sacrifice in front of the column. After renouncing the cross, Julian meets the highest demon, who tells him that he will make him Emperor for one hundred years. Then Julian sacrifices on that night, and the demons come and worship him. That very night the magician Magnus takes with him his maid servant, who is pregnant. They undress her and hang her up in the temple and slit her open and take out her nine months old child. Then Magnus speaks the magic formula, and the lower spirits appear. After they have promised to aid Julian, the servant is taken down, and the child restored to her womb. She is placed on an altar and sacrificed. The Emperor insists that Julian swear before the column, but desists, at the request of the senate, who believe that Julian is a Christian and should not swear before a column. Then Julian is made general in chief, after which he is killed.

In this second story it is a brother of the woman whom Julian has wronged who intends to avenge the woman, and Julian is a participant in a cruel act to the maid servant. The two episodes are in Jordanes welded into one in the case of *Sunilda*, whom he tears to pieces, and whom the brothers avenge. Eleuthera is the sister of the Emperor of the *Romans*, Sunelda is the sister of the king of the *Rosomons*. It is not clear in Jordanes whether Sunilda is Hermanric's wife, or the wife of the king of the Rosomons, but Jordanes got the story mixed up, because the woman is here made to suffer for the husband's fraudulent deed, whereas in the Syriac story it is Julian himself who is the cheat. The name *Sunilda*, which is also written *Sunihil*, is apparently a corruption of *Astina*, the Persian queen with whom Jovinian is made to have some relations in the first Syriac story. As in the Syriac romance, so in Jordanes, Hermanric lives more than a hundred years.

Nöldeke has shown[1] that the two Syriac stories are of native origin, and that the second Syriac story cannot be of an earlier date than the beginning of the seventh century. Thus the account in Jordanes must be still later, to have brought about such confusion. And the reference to *Ermenerichus*, the king of the Ostrogoths, whose country the Huns invaded, as given in Ammianus Marcellinus,[2] is a downright forgery, taken out of Jordanes or indirectly from the Syriac *Liber calipharum*, where the Huns invade the cities of Caucaba and Ctesiphon in 395,[3] that is, the region where Julian-Harman was supposed to reign for one hundred years.

The Arabic romance of Julian is not extant, but it is certain that here *Harman* was still further confused with *Hermes*. Two of the leading personages of a large number of Arabic stories and beliefs are Agathodaemon and Hermes,[4] who belong to the Gnostic and Manichaean beliefs. Hermes is by the Arabs represented as the builder of the pyramids, hence it may be that Arab. هرم *hirm*, dual هرمان *hirmān* "pyramid," is derived from the same word. From the confusion of "pyramid" and "mighty ruler" has arisen the myth of the *Irminsul* of the Saxons. The account is contained in the *Translatio S. Alexandri*, written by Ruodolf and Meginhard in 851.[5] As the whole story will be analyzed later, I give it here in full.

"Saxonum gens, sicut tradit *Antiquitas*, ab Anglis Britanniae incolis egressa, per Oceanum navigans Germaniae litoribus studio et necessitate quaerendarum sedium appulsa est, in loco qui vocatur Haduloha, eo

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 671 f.
[2] XXXI. 3. 1.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
[4] Th. Haarbrücker, *Abu-'l-Fath' Muh'ammad asch-Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Halle 1851, vol. II, p. 65, et passim.
[5] *MGH., Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 674 ff.

tempore quo Thiotricus rex Francorum contra Irminfridum generum suum, ducem Thuringorum, dimicans, terram eorum crudeliter ferro vastavit et igni. Et cum iam duobus proeliis ancipiti pugna incertaque victoria miserabili suorum cede decertassent, Thiotricus spe vincendi frustratus, misit legatos ad Saxones, quorum dux erat Hadugoto. Audivit enim causam adventus eorum, promissisque pro victoria habitandi sedibus, conduxit eos in adiutorium; quibus secum quasi iam pro libertate et patria fortiter dimicantibus, superavit adversarios, vastatisque indigenis et ad internitionem pene deletis, terram eorum iuxta pollicitationem suam victoribus delegavit. Qui eam sorte dividentes, cum multi ex eis in bello cecidissent, et pro raritate eorum tota ab eis occupari non potuit, partem illius, et eam quam maxime quae respicit orientem, colonis tradebant, singuli pro sorte sua, sub tributo exercendam. Cetera vero loca ipsi possiderunt. A meridie quidem Francos habentes et partem Thuringorum, quos praecedens hostilis turbo non tetigit, et alveo fluminis Unstrotae dirimuntur. A septentrione vero Nordmannos, gentes ferocissimas. Ab ortu autem solis Obodritos, et ab occasu Frisos, a quibus sine intermissione vel foedere vel concertatione necessario finium suorum spacia tuebantur. Erant enim inquieti nimis et finitimorum sedibus infesti, domi vero pacati et civium utilitatibus placida benignitate consulentes. Generis quoque ac nobilitatis suae providissimam curam habentes, nec facile ullis aliarum gentium vel sibi inferiorum conubiis infecti, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem facere conati sunt. Unde habitus quoque ac magnitudo corporum comarumque color, tanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem pene omnibus. Quatuor igitur differentiis gens illa consistit, nobilium scilicet et liberorum, libertorum atque servorum. Et id legibus firmatum, ut nulla pars in copulandis coniugiis propriae

sortis terminos transferat, sed nobilis nobilem ducat uxorem, et liber liberam, libertus coniungatur libertae, et servus ancillae. Si vero quispiam horum sibi non congruentem et genere prestantiorem duxerit uxorem, cum vitae suae damno componat.

"Legibus etiam ad vindictam malefactorum optimis utebantur. Et multa utilia atque secundum legem naturae honesta in morum probitate habere studuerunt, quae eis ad veram beatitudinem promerendam proficere potuissent, si ignorantiam creatoris sui non haberent, et a veritate culturae illius non essent alieni. Coluerunt enim eos, qui natura non erant dii: inter quos maxime Mercurium venerabantur, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare consueverant. Deos suos neque templis includere, neque ullae humani oris speciei adsimilare ex magnitudine et dignitate coelestium arbitrati sunt. Lucos ac nemora consecrantes, deorumque nominibus appellantes, secretum illud sola reverentia contemplabantur. Auspicia et sortes quam maxime observabant. Sortium consuetudo simplex erat. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputabant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargebant; mox, si publica consultatio fuit, sacerdos populi, si privata, ipse paterfamilias precatus deos coelumque suspiciens ter singulos tulit, sublatisque secundum inpressam ante notam interpretatus est. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re ipsa die consultatio, si permissum est, eventuum adhuc fides exigebatur. Avium voces volatusque interrogare, proprium gentis illius erat. Equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri, hinnitusque ac fremitus observare; nec ulli auspicio maior fides non solum apud plebem, sed etiam apud proceres habebatur. Erat et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorare solebant; eius quippe gentis, cum qua bellandum fuit, captivum quoquo modo inter-

ceptum, cum electo popularium suorum patriis quemque armis committere, et victoriam huius vel illius pro iudicio habere. Quomodo autem certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur, agendis rebus auspicatissimum initium crediderint, et alia innumera vanarum superstitionum genera, quibus implicati sunt, observaverint, pretereo. . . . . Frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant. Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia."

The *Translatio S. Alexandri* begins with an account of the origin of the Saxons. We are told that the *Antiquitas* says that the Saxons came from Britain and settled near Haduloha, and that Theodoric, the Frankish king, united with Hadugot, the leader of the Saxons, and defeated the Thuringians, after which he allowed the Saxons to settle on the continent. The passage found in Tacitus follows immediately after the statement that the Saxons had good laws, but unfortunately were not Christians. Then Ruodolf proceeds with an account of the Saxon war, and refers, obviously quoting from another source, to the fact that the Saxons worshiped in groves and at springs, and revered a huge column which they called in their language *Irminsul*, which meant "universal column." This account, no doubt, like the beginning of the *Translatio*, is taken from a Saxon *Antiquitas*. That such existed we are informed by Trithemius, who says that Hermenfrid, claimed to have lived in 520 B. C., wrote many fabulous things about the Saxons. Trithemius had made excerpts from his book about the year 1486, but had left the notes behind in Spanheim, where they were lost.[1]

[1] "De saxonibus atque doringis multa sparsim leguntur, de quorum origine Hermenfrid quidam ante Christi nativitatem anno CCCCCXX multa scripsit magna et partim fabulosa. Cuius fragmenta per me excopiata

From the *Antiquitas*, or from an older source, the story of the column found its way into the forgery known as *Cosmographia Aethici Istrici*,[1] where it is adorned fantastically and is ascribed to a nation in the Euxine Sea. Here the nation worshiped Saturn by making a large heap of stones and mortar, on which they raised enormous pillars. This structure they called in their language *Morcholom*, that is, "stella Deorum."[2]

If we now turn back to *Irminsul*, we find it several times referred to in the ninth century chronicles as the Saxon sanctuary, idol, or grove, destroyed by Charlemagne in 772.[3] The very variation indicates that the information about the *irminsul* was received at second hand or from a literary source, for otherwise there would have been some agreement as to its meaning. Later we frequently find the glosses "*irmansuli* piramides, *irminsul* colossus, altissima columna."

That *irman*, for which there is no Germanic root, was taken to mean "very great, universal," is proved by the use made of it in the Hildebrandlied, where

ante XXX annos reliqui in Spanheim, que nescio si adhuc ibi reperiantur," J. Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, Wien 1840, vol. I, p. 315.

[1] Edited by H. Wuttke, Leipzig 1853.

[2] "Diem festum nequaquam nisi mense Augusto mediante. Colere Saturnum, ob hoc quod temporibus Octaviani Augusti censum dederunt in auro litorico, nulli romanorum regum aut imperotorum nec antea nec postmodum, et tunc quidem sponte, videntes quoque vicinas regiones censum dare: arbitrati sunt quod deus dierum novus ortus fuisset et in ipso mense Augusto congregaverunt ad unam catervam generationem cunctam seminis eorum in insola maiore maris oceani Tareconta, fecerunt acervum magnum lapide ac bitumine conglutinatum, aedificantes pilas praegrandes mirae magnitudinis et cloacas subtus marmore constructas, phyrram fonte[m] glutinantes et appellaverunt *Morcholom* lingua sua, id est stellam deorum, quo derivato nomine Saturnum appellant," *ibid.*, p. 19.

[3] "Pervenit ad locum qui dicitur *Ermensul*, et succendit ea loca," *MGH., Scriptores*, vol. I, p. 16; "destruxit fanum eorum quod vocabatur *Irminsuul*," *ibid.*, p. 30; "idolum Saxonorum combussit, quod dicebant *Irminsul*," *ibid.*, p. 88; "fanum et lucum eorum famosum *Irminsul* subvertit," *ibid.*, p. 117; "ad *Ermensul* (*hermensul*) usque pervenit, et ipsum fanum destruxit, et aurum vel argentum, quod ibi repperit, abstulit," *ibid.*, p. 150; "idolum quod *Irminsul* a Saxonibus vocabatur evertit," *ibid.*, p. 151; "et destruxit fanum eorum, quod vocabatur *Hirminsuul*," *ibid.*, p. 295, etc.

we have *irmingot* "the great god of all," *irminthiod* "the great nation, the human race." Similarly, we have in Anglo-Saxon, in the Beowulf and elsewhere, *eormen-cyn* "the human race," *eormen-grund* "the spacious earth," *eormen-strynd* "the great generation," *eormen-þeód* "a great people;" we also have OSax. *irminthiod* "great people," *irmingot* "the great god," *irminman* "the great man," and ONorse *jörmun-gandr* "the great monster," *jörmund-grund* "the earth." The oldest of these literary sources set the pace for the later one, but in no case did the word turn into an adjective or become popular.

The origin of the word is strange enough. Caesar and Pomponius Mela speak of the enormous size of the Germans, which inspired fear in their enemies.[1] But it is only Isidore of Seville who made this statement the subject of one of his execrable etymologies. He writes: "Germanicae gentes dictae, quod sint inmania corpora inmanesque nationes saevissimis duratae frigoribus; qui mores ex ipso caeli rigore traxerunt, ferocis animi et semper indomiti, raptu venatuque viventes" (IX. 2. 97). He derived *Germania* from *inmania*, that is, *Germania* was supposed to be equal to *Irmania*, *Inmania*.

This etymology found its way into a considerable number of eighth century writings, no doubt through the intermediacy of Hunibald's History, which, if it is the source of all the other quotations, must have been written immediately before 727, as will later be shown. There is a possibility, however, and a very serious one, that the etymology in Isidore is an interpolation. That there are a few interpolations in Isidore

[1] "Ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant . . tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupauit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret," *De bello gallico*, I. 39; "qui habitant inmanes sunt animis atque corporibus," Pomponius Mela, III. 3.

appears clearly from the gloss about the Gaetuli, where it says that they were Getae, and that, therefore, there was a blood relationship between the Goths and the Moors, or Berbers.[1] This sentiment could have slipped in only after 711, when the conquering Berbers tried to claim a relationship with the Goths. This is corroborated by an eleventh or twelfth century MS. of Isidore, where both Goths and Moors are given as descendants of Japheth.[2]

Unfortunately, Trithemius did not preserve all the etymologies of Hunibald, and it is impossible to tell whether he had said anything about the Germans; but that is more than likely, since he several times points out that *Germani* was the name given by the Romans to the Franks. Trithemius says that they were called *Germani* "foederis ratione," because they were brothers.[3] That is, however, the opinion of Trithemius, and not of Hunibald, for a little further down he says that the Germans were called so out of contempt.[4] Certainly Hunibald transferred the terror of the Germans to that of the Franks,[5] for they were called *Franci* because they were *feroces*.[6] We do have

[1] "Getuli Getae dicuntur fuisse, qui ingenti agmine a locis suis navibus conscendentes, loca Syrtium in Libya occupaverunt, et quia ex Getis venerant, derivato nomine Getuli cognominati sunt. Unde et opinio est apud Gothos ab antiqua cognatione Mauros consanguinitate propinquos sibi vocare," IX. 2. 118.

[2] "De Iafeth nati sunt *Goti et Mauri*," *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 259.

[3] "Dicti sunt igitur Franci, qui prius ab alijs, Sicambri: ab alijs dicebantur, foederis ratione, Germani," *Johannis Trithemii Spanheimensis opera historica*, Francofurti 1601, p. 14.

[4] "Apud Romanos, Gallos quoque vel alios nationes . . . sive ignoratione, sive detestatione vocabuli, hanc gentem Germanam crebrius appelauere quam Francam," *ibid.*

[5] "Certum est enim, quod nomen Francorum non scriptis, sed armis: non amore, sed timore: non assumptione, sed subiectione cognouere Romani,' *ibid.*

[6] "Statuit eos iam deinceps non Sicambros vocari debere, sed Francos, id est, nobiles, liberos, vel bellicosos, et caeteris nationibus metuendos," *ibid.*, p. 69; "unde nimium territae nationes in circuitu omnes Francos, id est, feroces eos nominarunt," *ibid.*

a specific reference to Hunibald, from which it may be seen that he certainly had the etymology for *Germani*, for Trithemius says, on the authority of Hunibald, that the foreign nations out of anger called the Franks Germans.[1] Now, Isidore of Seville offers the same etymology for the Franks as given by Hunibald.[2] As neither this etymology nor the other adduced by Isidore, as though derived from their leader, Francus, is found in Gregory of Tours, and for the first time occurs only in Fredegar's Chronicle, which, as is shown later, was written in the beginning of the eighth century, Isidore's lemma is unquestionably an interpolation from Hunibald. Curiously enough, the etymology for *Franci — feroces* was in the twelfth century made the subject of a national division into "*Franci nobiles* Francun," and "*Franci feroces* merovingi karlîngi."[3]

What caused the Saxon *Antiquitas* to transfer *irman* "inmanis, great" to the column? Caesar spoke of the *inmania simulacra* put up by the Gauls, and this was transferred to the Germans. This would sufficiently explain the origin of the *irminsul.* But there is still a contamination here with the Arab. هرم *hirm(un)*, dual هرمان *hirmān* "pyramid." The origin of the Arabic word is clear, for the pyramids are supposed to have been built by Hermes I.[4] It is even most likely that the etymology *Germania-inmania* was suggested only through the intermediary Arabic word for "pyramid," for which the Kamūs gives also a verbal meaning, "to exalt, make large."

[1] "Francos (testante Hunibaldo) liuore commoti, non alio nominauere vocabulo, quam Germanos," *ibid.*, p. 21.

[2] "Franci a quodam proprio duce vocari putantur. Alii eos a feritate morum nuncupatos existimant. Sunt enim in illis mores inconditi, naturalis ferocitas animorum," IX. 2. 101.

[3] Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. III, p. 131.

[4] Ad-Damîrî's *Ḥayât al-Ḥayawân*, trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar, London, Bombay 1906, vol. I, p. 737; Fihrist (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XIII, p. 648), etc.

Aethicus, as we have seen, described the pyramid on an island of the sea and finished up by saying that they pasted fire together with water and called the structure in their language *morcholom*. The mixing of fire with water leaves no doubt whatsoever behind that Aethicus is describing the pyramid, for Aristotle in his *Περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, III. 4. 3, 4 and III. 8. 4, 8 confused the fire with the pyramid. It is, therefore, obvious that in *marcholo*, by omitting the ending, we have the Arab. الاهرام *'alahrām* "the pyramids," read backwards. This may be proved by documentary evidence. In the Life of Saint Lebuin, written by Hucbald in the tenth century, the Saxon *Irminsul* is referred to as *Marklo*, a place where each year twelve select men of the Saxons solemnly met to consult on affairs of state.[1] The importance of this confirmation cannot be exaggerated. It shows, beyond a shadow of a doubt, a close relation between Aethicus and the Saxon *Antiquitas*, and between both of them and an Arabic source, from which both are derived.

The writing of *Harman* backwards, which, on account of the ending *lo*, from the Arabic article *al*, unquestionably proceeds from an Arabic source, is due to the fact that in the Parsi writings the name of *Ahriman*, being the name of the devil, is written backwards.[2] As the Parsi writings coincide with the Arabic rule of the country where the Parsis were found, we at once see how the writing backward, to avoid the evil eye, ultimately found its way into the Germanic tradition.

Later on I shall show how the forgery known as Tacitus' *Germania* was written in the eighth century

[1] "Statuto quoque tempore anni semel ex singulis pagis, atque ex iisdem ordinibus tripartitis, singillatim viri duodecim electi, et in unum collecti, in media Saxonia secus flumen Wiseram, et locum *Marklo* nuncupatum, exercebant generale concilium, tractantes, sancientes et propalantes communis commoda utilitatis, iuxta placitum a se statutae legis," *MGH., Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 361 f.

[2] F. Justi, *Der Bundehesh*, Leipzig 1868, p. 79.

and was based on a work of Pseudo-Berosus, itself a forgery, as preserved and annotated by Annius of Viterbo. Here I shall only adduce as much as is necessary to prove that the Arminius story in Tacitus, Strabo, and other writers is a bold forgery of not earlier than the eighth century. According to Pseudo-Berosus, *Herminon*, a savage warrior, ruled among the Tuiscones,[1] and a little later we find *Marsus*,[2] king of the Tuiscones. Thus we have the obvious correlation of *Marsi* with the *Harman*-king. Historically we know only of the Italian *Marsi*, who stood in repute for their magical arts and waged war with the Romans. Hence they could easily be coupled with Julian-Harman, who was aided by the magician, Magnus. It is only Tacitus and Strabo who speak of Germanic *Marsi*. In the *Annales* of Tacitus, I. 56 and II. 25, and in I. 50, 51 we are told how the Roman soldiers arrived in the evening in the villages of the unsuspecting Marsi. Caesar divided his legions into four parts, and these laid waste fifty miles of territory. Neither sex nor age was spared. Their dwellings and sacred things and that famous temple, which they called *Tamfanae*, were razed to the ground.

This story is identical with that of the destruction of the Italian Marsi, as told in the Roman historians and retold in Orosius, V. 18. But the forger of the *Annales* got his account of the destruction of the temple from Isidore:

Isidore, *Etymologiae.*	Tacitus.
Marsi gens Italiae dicta a comite Liberi Marsya, qui usum illis vitium ostendit; et ob hoc illi statuam fecerunt, quam postea Romani victis Marsis tulerunt, IX. 2. 88.	Profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tamfanae vocabant, solo aequantur, I. 51.

[1] Iohannis Annius, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina. XVII*, 1512, fol. CXXIX.
[2] Fol. CXXXI.

"Quod *Tamfanae* vocabant" can be nothing else but a gloss to *templum*, "quod tamen fanum vocabant," as, indeed, "templum" is frequently glossed by "fanum." Just as the Romans carried off the statue of Marsyas, when the *Italian Marsi* were destroyed, so Caesar destroyed the famous temple of the *German Marsi*.

I shall now show how the *Italian Marsi* became the *German Marsi*. In Isidore the Marsi are mentioned after the Italian tribes, Romani, Itali, Tusci, Umbri, and just before the Gothi, Daci, Bessi, Gipedes, Sarmatae, Alani, Langobardi, Vandali, etc. Those who borrowed their material from Isidore mistook the Marsi as the last of the Italians and the first of the Germans. Hence the interpolation in Strabo, that the Romans settled some tribes in Gaul, while some, *καθάπερ Μαρσοί*, like the *Marsi*, penetrated further into the German territory.[1] Similarly, in Orosius, which is itself a forgery, the Marsi are spoken of as having been killed together with their general, *Francus* (for which most manuscripts read *Fraucus*.)[2] As the account in Orosius is of the *Italian Marsi*, this coupling with a general, Francus, shows conclusively that the forger of Orosius, confused by the position of *Marsi* in Isidore, supplied them with a German general, who is not mentioned anywhere else. As *Francus*, as an eponymous hero, is not known before the beginning of the eighth century, we get for the period of the interpolation, as we have already found, some time in the eighth century.[3]

This correlation of the *Marsi* with *Arminius* in Tacitus, which is identical with the correlation of *Herminon* and the *Marsi* in Pseudo-Berosus, if nothing

[1] Strabo, VII. I. 3.
[2] "Decem et octo milia Marsorum in ea pugna cum Franco imperatore suo caesa sunt," V. 18.
[3] See p. 8 ff.

else, condemns the *Annales* of Tacitus, in the form in which we have that work, as a bold forgery, and Strabo as greatly interpolated. But we proceed to the Arminius story.

The interesting work by Oldfather and Canter[1] saves us the trouble of wading through an endless amount of trash that has accumulated in literature and history on Arminius. I shall confine myself chiefly to this work. In chapter II we have an account of the sources in which the Arminius episode is given. First comes Dio Cassius, LVI. 18-23. He is here mentioned as "the only one of the ancient writers who has given us anything like a connected account of the catastrophe."[2] I have already shown that there are many interpolations in Dio Cassius. In this particular case, where there are references to the *Arminius* incident in Dio Cassius, the passages are absent from Zonaras, who quotes Dio Cassius as closely as he can. Here again we come across the remarkable fact that interpolated passages in the old authors were not given by Zonaras, obviously because he did not find them in his genuine copies.

Dio Cassius.	Zonaras.
Οὔτ' οὖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν πολεμίᾳ, συνεῖχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν συχνοὺς αἰτοῦσι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ χωρίων τινῶν ἢ καὶ λῃστῶν συλλήψεσι παρατομπαῖς τέ τισι τῶν ἐπτηδείων διέδωκεν· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μάλιστα συνομόσαντες καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρμήνιος καὶ Σηγίμερος, συνόντες τε αὐτῷ ἀεὶ καὶ συνεστιώμενοι πολλάκις· θαρσοῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μήτε τι δεινὸν προσδεχομένου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τό τε γιγνόμενον ὑποτοποῦσι, etc., LVI. 19. 1.	Ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας οὔτε τὰ στρατεύματα ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ συνεῖχε καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ ἔπεμπε. Θαρροῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ μή τι δεινὸν ὑποπτεύοντος, X. 37.

[1] *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus*, in *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. IV, No. 2, June 1915.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

This leaves Dio Cassius in a very doubtful position as to authenticity.

The second source is Velleius Paterculus. Of him our authors say: "In his hasty sketches of military campaigns in Germany and Pannonia, full of blunders and inconsistencies, it is clear that he is but little concerned with the exact establishment of facts. With no appreciation of the internal connection of things, and no ability to sift evidence, he centers his interest almost entirely upon individuals for purpose of praise or blame, and excels as a rhetorical anecdotist, and as a delineator of individual actors. His inflated style, his straining after effect by hyperbole, antithesis, epigram, and piquancies of all kinds, mark the degenerate taste of the Silver Age, of which he is the earliest representative. His reflections and observations generally outweigh the information given. Velleius' training, the occasion of his composition, the attempt to satisfy the taste of his age, all make him a source, which, because of distortions and overemphasis, cannot be accepted at full value."[1] This is bad enough. No one, so far as I know, has doubted his authenticity, but all we know of Velleius is based on a lost copy, which was used by Beatus Rhenanus in his *editio princeps*, published in the beginning of the sixteenth century. No one before him ever heard of Velleius or mentioned him, except once more Priscianus, VI. 11, and the scholiast of Lucan, IX. 178. There can be no doubt of the existence of the works of Velleius Paterculus before the tenth century, but we have no means of ascertaining whether there were not any interpolations made after the story of Arminius had found vogue, that is, in or after the eighth century, especially since Velleius is written in an atrocious Latinity.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

The next author is Florus, who is supposed to have written in the middle of the second century. Here, at least, we have an author who was well known in the Middle Ages. He was excerpted by Orosius and Jordanes, but as these works were written in the eighth century, we do not know of the condition of the original work at that time. In the manuscripts which have come down to us numerous interpolations have been observed.[1] Arminius is barely mentioned by name (IV. 12. 32), and so does not affect the Arminius story at large.

We are thus left almost entirely to Tacitus and Strabo, contradictory as they are on the point as to the Arminius story. According to Strabo,[2] the wife of Arminius is called *Thusnelda*, and his son, *Thumelicus*. *Thusnelda* is the sister of Segimuntus, who is the son of Segestes. Of course, *Thusnelda* is nothing but *Sunilda*, of the Hermanric myth, and in form is even nearer to Syr. ܐܣܬܝܢܐ *Astina*, read, no doubt, in Arabic as *Atusnel*, because the final *a* in the Syriac word is easily confused with an *l;* whilè *Thumelicus*, obviously a non-Germanic word, is nothing but *θυμελικός*, from *θυμέλη* "a place where the sacrifice is brought," that is, *θυμελικός* is here used in the sense of "the boy who is sacrificed on the altar," precisely as the child of the magician's maidservant is sacrificed.

According to Tacitus, the story of Arminius is more elaborate.[3] "In the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a conclusion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the ensuing summer; but he thought proper, early in the spring, to open the campaign, by a sudden

[1] O. Rossbach, *L. Annaei Flori Epitomae Libri II*, Lipsiae 1896, p. XXXVI.
[2] VII. 1. 4.
[3] I shall quote from A. Murphy, *The Works of Cornelius Tacitus*, London 1811, vol. I.

irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people distracted among themselves by the opposite factions of Arminius and Segestes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unshaken fidelity. Arminius was the common disturber of Germany; Segestes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When measures were taken for a general insurrection, he discovered the conspiracy; and during the banquet which preceded the massacre of Varus, he proposed that he himself, Arminius, and other chiefs, should be seized, and loaded with irons. By that vigorous measure he was sure that the minds of the common people would be depressed with fear; and, having lost their chiefs, none would dare to rise in arms. The general, of course, would have leisure to discriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to perish, and Arminius struck the blow. In the present juncture, Segestes was compelled by the ardour of his countrymen to take up arms. He still however retained his former sentiments. He had, besides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promised in marriage to another chief, was ravished from him by Arminius. The father and the son-in-law were by consequence inveterate enemies; and that connection, which between persons mutually well inclined forms the tenderest friendship, served only to inflame the animosity of the two contending chiefs."[1]

"Germanicus, in a short time afterwards, received a message from Segestes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him closely besieged. Arminius had been the adviser of the war, and was by consequence the idol of the people. In a nation of savages, the man of fierce and turbulent spirit is sure, in times of commotion, to be the leading

[1] I. 55.

demagogue. Among the deputies sent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the son of Segestes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a priest of the Ubian altar; but soon after, fired by the zeal that roused his whole nation, he tore off his sacred vestments, and went over to his countrymen. Conscious of this offence, he hesitated for some time, willing to decline the embassy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in safety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpose, and march back to the relief of Segestes. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked and put to rout. Segestes was set at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; several women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segestes, then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character: she breathed the spirit of her husband. Not a tear was seen to start; no supplicating tone was heard; she stood in pensive silence; her hands strained close to her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage. At the same time was brought forth a load of spoils, which, in the slaughter of Varus and his legions, fell to the share of those who now surrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segestes himself, his stature of superior size, his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He spoke to this effect: 'It is not now the first time that Segestes has given proofs of his attachment to the cause of Rome. From the moment when I was enrolled a citizen by the deified Augustus, your interest has been the rule of my conduct. Your

friends I embraced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I have not been guilty of treason to my country. A traitor I know is odious even to those who profit by the treason. I have been your friend, because I thought the interests of Germany and Rome were interwoven with each other; I have been your friend, because I preferred peace to war. Governed by these principles, I addressed myself to Varus, who commanded your armies; before his tribunal, I exhibited an accusation against Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of public treaties. But sloth and irresolution were the bane of that unfortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed I expected no relief. I therefore desired, earnestly desired, that Arminius, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, might be thrown into irons. I did not except myself. With what zeal I pressed the measure, witness that fatal night which I wish had been my last. The horrors that followed, demand our tears: they cannot be justified. Soon after that tragic event, I confined Arminius in chains; and from his faction I have suffered, in my turn, the same indignity. Admitted now to an interview with Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendship to new connections; my voice is still for peace. For myself, I have nothing in view; my honour is dear to me, and I desire to repel all suspicion of perfidy. I would, if possible, make terms for my countrymen, if they can be induced to prefer a well-timed repentance to calamity and ruin. For my son, and the errors of his youth, I am an humble supplicant. My daughter, indeed, appears before you by necessity, not by her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is yours to decide her fate: it is yours to judge which ought to have most influence, her husband, or her father: she is with child by Arminius, and she sprung from me.' Germanicus, in his usual style of

moderation, assured him that his children and relations should be protected; as to himself, he might depend upon a safe retreat in one of the old provinces. He then marched back to the Rhine; and there, by the direction of Tiberius, was honored with the title of Imperator. The wife of Arminius was delivered of a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna. The disasters which made him afterwards the sport of fortune, shall be related in their proper place. The surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception from Germanicus, being in a short time spread throughout Germany, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce and enterprising, seeing, in this juncture, his wife forever lost, and the child in her womb a slave before its birth, felt himself inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the Cheruscans, spreading the flame of discord, and in every quarter rousing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms against Segestes, to arms against the Romans. He spared no topic that could inflame resentment. 'Behold,' he cried, 'behold in Segestes the true character of a father! in Germanicus an accomplished general! In the exploits of the Roman army, the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have led a woman into captivity. It was not in this manner that Arminius dealt with them: three legions, and as many commanders, fell a sacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors I am a stranger; I wage no war with women big with child. My enemies are worthy of a soldier; I declare open hostility, and sword in hand I meet them in the field of battle. Survey your religious groves: the Roman banners by me hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there displayed; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segestes

fly for shelter to the Roman provinces; let him enjoy his bank on the side of Gaul; and let him there meanly crouch to make his son the priest of a foreign altar. Posterity will have reason to curse his memory; future ages will detest the man, whose crime it is, that we have seen, between the Rhine and the Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit, and the Roman arms. To other nations, punishments and taxes are yet unknown; they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We have bravely thrown off the yoke; we are free from burthens: and since Augustus was obliged to retreat, that very Augustus whom his countrymen have made a god; and since Tiberius, that upstart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany, shall we, who have dared nobly for our liberties, shrink from a boy void of experience, and an army ruined by their own divisions? If your country is dear to you, if the glory of your ancestors is near your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the enjoyment of your natural rights is preferable to new masters and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I will marshal you the way to glory and to freedom. Segestes has nothing in store but infamy, chains, and bondage.'"[1]

Then we have the altercation between Arminius and his brother. "The Visurgis flowed between the Romans and Cheruscans. On the opposite bank Arminius presented himself. He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His business was to know whether Germanicus was with the army; being answered in the affirmative, he desired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of strict fidelity, who some years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, lost an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the opposite

[1] I. 57–59.

side, saluted him; and having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers should withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themselves, Arminius fixed his eyes on Flavius; and, Whence, he said, that deformity of feature? He was told the battle and the place where it happened. And what, continued Arminius, has been your recompence? I have received, said Flavius, an augmentation of pay, a military chain, an ornamental crown, and other honours. Arminius burst into a laugh of scorn and indignation. 'They are the wages,' he said, 'of a slave cheaply purchased.' A warm altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majesty of Rome, the power of the Caesars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obstinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to submit. He added, 'Your wife and son are in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated like a captive.' Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. 'Your mother,' he said, 'joins with me in earnest supplication: we both conjure you not to desert your family; not to betray your friends, nor prefer the detested name of traitor, to the vast renown of commanding armies in defence of your country.' By degrees their passions rose to a pitch of fury, insomuch that the river could not have restrained them from deciding their quarrel by the sword, if Stertinius had not checked the impetuosity of Flavius, who stood burning with resentment, and calling aloud for his horse and his arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his storm of passion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the issue of a battle. What he said was perfectly understood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions, and,

having conversed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his discourse with Latin expressions."[1] We shall not follow Arminius through his warlike vicissitudes. His end is described as follows: "Arminius, however, did not long survive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen declared against him. A civil war ensued. Arminius fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all question, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with: he had to struggle with a great and flourishing empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He stood at bay for a number of years with equivocal success; sometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the issue of the war still unconquered. He died at the age of seven-and-thirty, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the Barbarians, his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annalists of Greece, who embellish nothing but their own story. Even amongst the Romans, the character of this illustrious chief has met with little justice, absorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while to the virtue of their own times they remain insensible and incurious."[2]

The relation of the Arminius story in Tacitus to the Syrian Julian-Harman romance and the Persian Ahriman cycle is perfectly plain. In the second Syriac story the wronged Eleuthera is the daughter of Licinius, counterking of Rome, and sister of Constantine. So, too, Arminius has carried off a woman, who is the daughter of a king or chief, Segestes, and whose brother,

[1] II. 9, 10. [2] II. 88.

Segimund, is mentioned. Licinius and Constantine are opposed to Julian for the wrong done to his wife or paramour, and so Segestes and Segimund are opposed to Arminius, who has wronged them by stealing his wife. The son of Arminius, in Strabo called "the one who is sacrificed on the altar," is like the son of the maid-servant whom Julian sacrificed on the altar. But in Tacitus and Strabo the horrible practice of sacrificing unborn children, which is specifically told in the first Syriac romance,[1] is mitigated to the appearance of Thusnelda in a high state of pregnancy and the birth of the son in captivity, to be educated in Ravenna.

It is interesting to observe that the account in Tacitus agrees, even in small details, with the eastern story. In Tacitus,[2] Arminius' uncle, Inguiomer, joins his conspiracy. In the first Syrian romance, it is Julian's uncle, Julian, who carries his letter to the emperor and joins him in revolt.[3] The altercation between Arminius and his brother, Flavius, who serves the Romans, is based on the Persian story of the twin brothers, Ormuzd and Ahriman, in their mother's womb, from which by stratagem Ahriman came forth first, ever afterwards to be in opposition to his brother, Ormuzd.[4] It is probably no accident that the brother of Arminius is called Flavius, for Flavius is the first name of Julian himself, who is no other than Ahriman, Arminius. Like Ahriman, Arminius is victorious for a long time, and he overcomes the Romans, but ultimately is killed by one of his relatives, at the age of thirty-seven years, while Julian was killed in his thirty-third year, or, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, in the thirty-sixth year of his life.

[1] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXVIII, p. 269.
[2] I. 60.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 269.
[4] J. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris 1877, p. 327.

Velleius Paterculus says that Arminius was the son of Sigimerus and that he had served in the Roman army, where he had risen to equestrian rank. Relying upon his power, he resolved to rebel against Rome, and Varus was informed of the fact by Segestes, who remained faithful to Rome. Although there is not much left here of the Harman romance, we none the less have reminiscences of it, for Julian, before becoming emperor, according to history, was a general in the army, and according to the Syrian romances, rebelled against Rome. According to Dio Cassius, too, Arminius is coupled with Segimerus. In Strabo, *Segimerus* is the father of Sesithacus. The brother of Thusnelda is *Segimundus*. In Jordanes the brothers who avenge the atrocity upon their sister are *Sarus* and *Ammius*. In all these we have unquestionably a corruption of Arab. سهم غرب *sahmgarb*, which would have been written *Sahmgaru*, and would produce *Segimerus*, who is associated with Arminius. It is also likely that *sahmun* "the arrow," is responsible for *Segimundus*, who is the brother of Thusnelda. In Tacitus the slayer of Arminius is not named, but we are told distinctly that he fell by the treachery of his own relations. Thus we meet in the Germanic myths with the substitute of brother or relatives for the "unknown arrow" of the Syriac and Arabic accounts.

No doubt many more interesting myths may be discovered in Jordanes. In the meantime, I have given enough to show that Jordanes is an eighth or early ninth century forgery, without a trace of historic background, except in a most distant way. I shall return to the subject at some future time. Now that I have discovered and described the condition of the Gothic *Antiquitas*, from which Jordanes drew most of his stories, I shall point out the most significant results from this Arabico-Gothic forgery.

PSEUDO-BEROSUS.

In the preceding pages I have shown what the constitution of the Gothic *Antiquitas* must have been, and how it was composed out of scraps of Dio Chrysostom, Persian mythology, and Syrian romances, many of these through Arabic sources. The influence of this *Antiquitas* on the works of antiquity has been enormous. Nearly all writings which dealt with reference to the Goths were in the eighth century "corrected" in the light of what was supposed to be a genuine source of information. I have barely begun to trace the results of that baleful school of "correctors," who have tampered with genuine works, and the still more baleful school of forgers, who, on the basis of the *Antiquitas*, have created havoc in history.

In the following pages I shall trace the other Germanic *Antiquitates*, which have arisen on the Gothic foundation or independently of it. Fortunately, we have a fairly good description of the Frankish *Antiquitas*, which will give us some of the most important and most startling results. The only *Antiquitas* which has come down to us in the original, is what may be denominated as the Alamannian *Antiquitas*,[1] which I shall give in full, as it will furnish us with an example of the forgers' work. I shall confine my discussion to such parts of it only as will bear on the proof that Tacitus' *Germania* is a forgery.

[1] Johannis Annius, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina. XVII*, 1512, lib. XV.

DEFLORATIO BEROSI.

Liber I.

1. Ante aquarum cladem famosam qua universus periit orbis, multa praeterierunt saecula, quae a nostris Chaldaeis fideliter fuerunt servata.

2. Scribunt illis temporibus circa Lybanum fuisse Enos urbem maximam gigantum, qui universo orbi dominabantur, ab occasu solis ad ortum. Hi vastitate corporis ac robore confisi, inventis armis omnes opprimebant, libidinique inservientes, invenerunt papiliones, et instrumenta musica et omnes delitias. Manducabant homines et procurabant aborsus, in eduliumque praeparabant, et commiscebantur matribus, filiabus, sororibus, et masculis, brutis, et nihil erat sceleris quod non admitterent, contemptores religionis et deorum.

3. Tum multi praedicabant et vaticinabantur, et lapidibus excidebant, de ea quae ventura erat orbis perditione, sed enim illi assueti corridebant omnia, caelestium illos ira atque ultione perurgente pro impietate atque sceleribus.

4. Unus inter gigantes erat, qui deorum veneratior et prudentior cunctis, reliquus ex probis erat in Syria. Huic nomen erat Noa, cum tribus filiis, Samo, Iapeto, Chem et uxoribus Tytea magna, Pandora, Noela, et Noegla, is timens quam ex astris futuram prospectabat cladem, anno .lxxviii. ante inundationem, navim instar arcae coopertam fabricari coepit. Anno septuagesimo octavo ab inchoata navi, ex improviso exundavit oceanus et omnia maria mediterranea. Fluminaque ac fontes ab imo ebullientes inundaverunt supra omnes montes accedentibus, atque impetuosissime et supra naturam e coelo copiosissimis hymbribus multis diebus corruentibus. Ita omne humanum genus aquis suffocatum, excepto Noa cum familia sua quae navi erepta

est. Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiei montis vertice quievit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, et homines ex illa bitumen tollere, quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem.

5. Ab hoc igitur anno salutis humanae ab aquis primordio sumpto, nostri maiores innumeros scripserunt. Nos vero taediosum illorum sermonem abbreviaturi referemus origines et tempora, et reges eorum dumtaxat regnorum, quae nunc magna habentur. In Asia quidem nostrum omnium celsissimum Babylonicum, in Aphrica Aegyptium et Libycum, quae unum primo fuerunt, et sub uno narrabimus. Postremo in Europa quatuor nostri enumerant. Celtiberum, Celtae, Kytim, quod illae gentes Italicum appellant, et Tuysconum quod a Rheno fluvio per Sarmatas in Pontum finit. Addunt quidam etiam quintum dictum Ionicum.

Liber II.

1. Necesse est igitur nos ex praemissis confiteri, quod et Chaldaei et Scythae scribunt, siccato ab aquis orbe non fuisse nisi dictos octo homines in Armenia Saga, et ab his omne hominum genus in terris seminatum, atque ob id Scythas recte dicere et appellare Noam omnium deorum maiorum et minorum patrem, et humanae gentis auctorem, et chaos et semen mundi. Tyteam vero Aretiam, id est, terram in quam semen chaos posuit, et ex qua tamquam ex terra cuncti prodierunt.

2. Praeter vero tres primores filios, Noa post diluvium gigantes pluresque filios genuit. Quare ad abbreviandum plurimum conferet si omnium posteritates figurabimus, ab ipso Noa sumpto exordio, deinde sigillatim a caeteris. Primum itaque dixerunt Ogygisan Sagam, id est illustrem sacrorum pontificem Noam Dysir.

3. Prima figura Noae, quae et Iani patris.

Macrus iunior — Iapetus priscus — Prometheus gygas — Tuyscon — Crana — Cranus — Granaus

Noa cognomine Ianus Ogyges ante dilivium, genuit Sem Cam et Iaphet. Post diluvium vero omnes istos huic arbori annexos qui sunt.

Decem et septem Tytanes — Araxa prisca — Regina — Pandora — Thetis — Oceanus — Typheus iunior

Tuyscon Germanorum et Sarmatum pater — Mannus — Ingaeuon — Isteuon — Herminon — Marsus — Gambrivius — Suevus Vandalus — Hunnus — Hercules — Teutanes

Araxa prisca genuit — Scytham priscum a quo — Napus et Prutus

Secunda arbor genealogiarum Sami.

Samus qui ponitur primus filius Noae, a quo geniti hi quinque. — Arameus — Arpaxeus — Lugdus — Assyrius — Helameus

Posteritas Aramei.

Arameus filius Sami genuit hos quinque duces. — Getul — Alan — Ul sive Vol — Mesa — Auson

Posteritas Arpaxei.

Saus a quo — Epirus a quo — Obulas a quo — Thyobum a quo — Arpaxeus primogenitus — filius a quo — Sala a quo — Heber sive Ister — Ictan a quo — Dalmadan a quo

Sami genuit Salem a quo

Albanaes a quo Obalus a quo Diclas a quo Azalus a quo Adulas a quo Iader a quo Saladeus a quo Sarmates a quo

Posteritas Mesae filii Aramei.

Mesa filius Aramei genuit quinque hos duces. Getum Dacum Bannonem Brygum Thynum

Tertia arbor posteritatis Iapeti.

Iapetus qui et Iopetus et Cephus Atalus primus genuit duces ii. Andromada iii. iiii. v. vi. vii. viii.

octo qui sunt: Medus Magogus Samothes Tubal Moscus Tyras Ion

Ab hoc Iopen et Iaph et primogenitus Comerus Gallus. Dis et Iubal

i.

Comerus primogenitus genuit tres hos duces. Ascanium Rypheum Tagum Or-ma Kytin Italus Atalus Dodoneus Tarsum Helisam

Posteritas Itali.

Italus cui nomen cognomen Atalaus, sive Athlas genuit. Kytin Hyam Morgetem Siculum Romam

Posteritas Itali.

Ex Pleiade in Italia Galathea pellex Galathes genuit

.vii. Pleiades, Maiam, Hercolis
Celeno Ameroen &c.

Posteritas Samothis.

Samothes cognomine Dis cuius filius	Magus cuius filius	Sarron cuius filius	Namnes cuius fi.	Dryiudes cuius fi.	Bardus cuius fi.
	Lougo cuius fi.	Bardus iunior cuius filius		Celtes	

Quarta arbor continens posteritates Cam sive Camesis.

Chem aegyptii hebraei vocant Camesem a quo geniti quinque duces	Cam cognomine	Cur	Osiris	Cana cognomine phoenix	Phaethon qui Ochus et pheriton

Posteritas Curetum.

Cur pater genuit qui sunt	Curetum quinque duces	Arabs	Saubecres	Saba	Thurifer	Sabatius Saga	Nymbrotus pater Beli prisci

Posteritas Sabae Thuriferi.

Saba Turifer posteros sex dedit qui sunt	Gogus pater Gangis et Indi	Triton a quo	Ammon a quo	Dionysius Libycus et Hiarba a quo	Deabus cognomine Gera a quo	Lomnimi qui et Geriones	

Posteritas Sabatii Sagae.

Sabatius Saga genuit hos Curetes	Sabus pater Sabelli	Curitus pater	Curitis Anitini	Anitinus a quo	Aruntius a quo	Pherentius

qui sunt

Posteritas Pheritonis sive Phutonis sive Phaetontis.

Pheriton sive Phaeton Moyses Phut a quo genitus | Lygur a quo | Cydmus a quo | Eridanus a quo | Ventus a quo | Venetus a quo | Tyla

Posteritas Canae sive Phoenicis.

Cana cognomine Phoenix a quo | Sidon | Archadius | Emathius | Sinius

Moyses plures enumerat, quia illi impleverunt Phoeniciae portionem quam occupaturi erant Hebraei, quam ipsi vocant terram Canaam.

Posteritas Osiridis quem Moyses vocat Mizraim.

Osiris quem aegyptii Osiri vocant, genuit hos | Lydum priscum | Anameonem sive Meonem | Casleum a quo Syri et Cappadoces Neptunnum patrem Lestrigonis | Petreium a quo Palaestini Orum | Libyum cognomine Hercolem

Posteritas Libyi Aegyptii Herculis.

Hercoles cui nomen Libyus genuit .lvii. duces | Scytha iunior ex Araxa | Tussus ex Araxa | Agatyrsus ex Araxa | Pecinus ex Araxa | Gython ex Araxa

Galathen ex Galathea | Atho ex Omphale | 50. Tospiades ex Armena

Posteritas Tusci.

Armonia | Iasius | Coriban

Cambo a quo
Blascon
Tussus sive Alteus Blascon a quo geniti
Tuscus ab a quo a quo Dardanus Erictonius Tros Ilus Laumedon Priamus
Ato genitus genitus geniti Curis Tile Ipiti
qui et Sypus Cybeles
Abotinus
Posteritas Atus.
Ato ex prognatis Tarcon Trasimenus
Hercolis et Omphales Manaus Astan Pipinus priscus Turrhenus
priscus Atho iunior
Lydus

Liber III.

1. Has igitur principum atque Heroum origines atque posteritates abbreviamus ex nostris Chaldaeis atque Scythicis libris, quoad satis sit. Nam et multos alios memoriae mandant, quos quia vel nihil ad nostram intentam accurtationem aut parum offerunt, ob id dimittimus, resumpturi illos ubi opus fuerit.

2. Quo pacto exinanitus orbis fuerit coloniis et hominibus oppletur dicendum est. Exsiccata humo et torrefacta terra, Noa cum familia de monte Gordieo, ut par erat, descendit in subiacentem planitiem plenam cadaverum, quam usque ad hanc aetatem appellant Myri Adam, id est, evisceratorum hominum, et inscripsit in lapide in monumentum rem gestam, et vocant incolae locum, egressorium Noae. Congressi vero coniugibus, perpetuo geminos edebant marem et foeminam, qui adulti et coniuges effecti et ipsi binos partu liberos semper edebant. Neque enim unquam Deus vel natura defuit rerum necessitati quae ad universi orbis spectat opulentiam. Eo pacto brevi in immensum adaucto humano genere, omnique Armenia completa, opus erat eos inde recedere, atque novas sibi sedes conquirere.

3. Tunc senissimus omnium pater Noa, iam antea edoctos theologiam et sacros ritus, coepit etiam eos erudire humanam sapientiam. Et quidem multa naturalium rerum secreta mandavit literis, quae solis sacerdotibus Scythae Armeni commendant. Neque enim fas est illa, ulli inspicere aut legere vel docere quam solis sacerdotibus, et inter sacerdotes dumtaxat, sicut et quos rituales libros reliquit, ex quibus illis primum Saga nomen fuit inditum, id est, sacerdos et sacrificulus et pontifex.

4. Docuit item illos astrorum cursus et distinxit annum ad cursum solis et .xii. menses ad motum

lunae, qua scientia praedicebat illis ab initio quid in anno et cardinibus eius futurum contingeret, ob quae illum existimaverunt divinae naturae esse participem, ac propterea illum Olybama et Arsa, id est, caelum et solem cognominaverunt, et illi plures civitates dedicaverunt. Nam et ad haec tempora Scythae Armeni urbes habent Olybama et Arsa, Ratha, et eiuscemodi. Cumque ivisset ad regendum Kitim, quam nunc Italiam nominant, desiderium sui reliquit Armenis, ac propterea post mortem illum arbitrati sunt in animam coelestium corporum tralatum, et illi divinos honores impenderunt. Et ob id solum haec duo regna Armenum quidem, quia ibi coepit: Italicum vero, quia ibi finivit et docuit et regnavit, naturaliumque atque divinorum quae eos erudivit libros plenissime illis conscriptos reliquit, illum venerantur simulque cognominant coelum, solem, chaos, semen mundi, patremque deorum maiorum et minorum, animam mundi moventem coelos, et mixta vegetabiliaque et animalia et hominem, Deum pacis, iustitiae, sanctimoniae, expellentem noxia et custodientem bona. Et ob hoc illum utraeque gentes signant in scriptis cursu solis et motu lunae, et sceptro dominii quo malos et noxios expellebat a coetu hominum, et castimonia corporis et sanctimonia animi, duabus clavibus religionis et felicitatis. Neque minus Tytheam quae mater omnium erat, Aretiam, id est, terram vocabant, et Estam, id est, ignem post mortem cognominaverunt, quia ipsa regina sacrorum fuerat, et puellas docuerat sempiternum ignem sacrorum inextinctum servare. Caeterum Noa antequam discederet ab Armenia docuit illos simplicem agriculturam, magis curans religionem et mores quam opulentiam et delitias quae ad illicita et libidines provocant, et caelestium iram nuper induxerant. Primus tamen omnium invenit vites atque plantavit et vinum conficere docuit, cuius

vim inexpertus et vaporem ebrius effectus minus pudice in terram cecidit. Erat illi, ut diximus, filius ex tribus primis adolescentior Chem, qui semper magicae et veneficae studens, Zoroast nomen consequutus erat. Is patrem Noam odio habebat,quia alios ultimo genitos ardentius amabat, se vero despici videbat. Potissime vero idem infensus erat patri ob vitia. Itaque nactus opportunitatem cum Noa pater madidus iaceret, illius virilia comprehendens taciteque submurmurans, carmine magico patri illusit, simul et illum sterilem perinde atque castratum effecit, neque deinceps Noa foemellam aliquam foecundare potuit. Ob beneficium inventae vitis et vini dignatus est cognomento Iano, quod Arameis sonat vitifer et vinifer. At vero Chem cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, asserens et re ipsa exequens congrediendum esse ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis et quovis alio genere, ob hoc eiectus a Iano piissimo et castimonia atque pudicitia refertissimo, sortitus est cognomentum Chem esenua, id est Chem infamis et impudicus, incubus, propagator. Est enim Esen apud Scythas Arameos infamis et impudicus. Enua vero tum impudicus, tum propagator. Eum inter homines huius dogmatis sequuti fuerunt Aegyptii, qui sibi illum suum Saturnum inter deos adolescentiorem fecerunt, et civitatem illi posuerunt dictam Chem Myn, a qua ad hanc aetatem omnes cives illius appellamus Chemmenitas. Verum posteri hoc vitiosum dogma neglexerunt, retento quod fuit primi moris, ut inter fratres et sorores coniugium iniri posset.

Liber IV.

1. Multiplicatum est in immensum genus humanum, et ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat. Tum Ianus pater adhortatus est homines principes ad quaerendas novas sedes et communem coetum inter

homines agendum, et aedificandas urbes. Designavit itaque illas tres partes orbis Asiam, Aphricam et Europam, ut ante diluvium viderat. Singulis autem his principibus singulas partes ad quas irent partitus, ipse per totum orbem colonias se traducturum pollicitus est.

2. Itaque Nymbrotum creavit Babyloniae Saturnum primum, ut ibi primum aedificaret cum coloniis suis. Quare Nymbrotus assumpto filio Iove Belo cum coloniis furatus est rituales Iovis Sagi, et cum populo venit in campum Sennaar, ubi designavit urbem et fundavit maximam turrim, anno salutis ab aquis centesimo trigesimoprimo, regnavitque annis .lvi. et deduxit turrim ad altitudinem et magnitudinem montium, in signum atque monumentum, quod primus in orbe terrarum est populus Babylonicus, et regnum regnorum dici debet. Ergo ab eo exordiemur, et per ipsum mensurabimus omnia regna et eorum reges ac tempora, abbreviando illa in hunc modum.

3. Anno .cxxxi. a salute ab aquis prima omnium gentium et civitatum, fundata est a Saturno Babylonico nostro urbs et gens nostra Babilonica, multiplicataque est nimis numero posteritatis, magisque studuit paci et religioni Saturnus deorum, quam opulentiis. Et turrim quidem aedificavit, sed non complevit, nec designatam urbem fundavit, quia post quinquagintasex annos subito non comparuit translatus a diis.

4. Ab exordio huius, Ianus pater misit in Aegyptum cum coloniis Chemesenuum, in Lybiam vero et Cyrenem, Tritonem, et in totam reliquam Aphricam Iapetum priscum Atalaa. In Asiam orientalem misit Gangem cum aliquot ex filiis Comeri Galli. In Arabiam Felicem Sabum cognomine Thuriferum. Arabum praefecit Arabiae desertae, et Petreium, Petreiae. Canam posuit a Damasco usque in extima Palaestinae. In Europa regem Sarmatiae fecit Tuysconem a Tanai ad Rhenum,

iunctique sunt illi omnes filii Istri et Mesae cum fratribus suis ab Adula monte usque in Mesembericam Ponticam. Sub his tenuerunt Tyras, Arcadius, Emathius. Italiam tenuit Comerus Gallus. Samotes possedit Celtas, et Iubal occupavit Celtiberos.

5. Hi sunt qui egressi sunt post Nymbrotum, singuli cum familiis et coloniis suis, relinquentes nomina sua locis in signum expeditionis a Iano patre commissae, et ad monumentum posteris ut scirent quis eorum fuerit conditor. Hi iuxta mandatum Iani coloniis turri constructa pro metropoli, ipsi in veiis et cavernis casas habebant. Solus noster Saturnus idcirco excessit mandatum, quia urbem urbium et regnum regnorum voluit esse Babyloniam. Rursus his temporibus Ianus cum omnes in colonias missi abivissent, eos qui remanserant bipartitus est. Nam secum retinuit filios plurimos, quos post salutem ab aquis genuit, et item maximam gentium multitudinem quum secum in colonias conducturus erat. Scytha cum matre sua Araxa et aliquot coloniis qui Armeniam incolerent, rex primus relictus est constituto summo pontifice Sabbatio Saga ab Armenia usque in Bactrianos: quae longitudo a nobis ad hanc aetatem vocatur Scythia Saga. Postremus omnium ipse Ianus ab Armenia per orbem colonias seminaturus, egressus est. Haec nostri maiores multis libris tradiderunt. Nunc de temporibus eorum ac posteritatibus dicemus, iuxta id quod in nostra Chaldaica et primordiali Scythica historia fideli memoria conservatum est.

Liber V.

1. Ut supra diximus, anno a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo trigesimoprimo, coepit regnum Babylonicum, sub nostro Saturno, patre Iovis Beli: qui imperavit annis .lvi. Anno huius decimo Comerus Gallus posuit colonias suas in regno, quod post Italia

dicta est. Et regionem suam a suo nomine cognominavit, docuitque illos legem et iustitiam. Anno eius duodecimo Iubal condidit Celtiberos, et paulopost Samothes, qui et Dis Celtas colonias fundavit: neque quisquam illa aetate isto sapientior fuit, ac propterea Samothes dictus est. Anno Nymbroti .xv. Oceanus ad Ninum Aegypti consedit, et multos ex sorore Tethyde edidit liberos. Inde supervenit ille corruptor humani generis Chemesenuus, ubi Telchines magicam docens, maxima opinione celebratur. Anno decimooctavo eiusdem Babylonici regis, Gogus Sabeam Arabiam Felicem cum Sabo suo patre puer tenuit, et Triton Libyam, et Iapetus priscus Atalaa Aphricam, Cur Aethiopiam, et Getulus Getuliam. Anno eiusdem .xxv. Thuyscon Sarmatas maximos populos fundavit, et Mesa cum filiis Istri priscos Mesios posuit, usque Ponticam Mesembriam ab Adula monte. Anno trigesimooctavo eiusdem regis Sagae Armeni multiplicati possederunt omnem Caspiam regionem, ab Armenia usque in Bactrianos, et Ianus pater Ianeos colonos traduxit in Hircaniam, et Ianilos in Mesopotamia versus mare sub Babylonia. Anno quadragesimo eiusdem regis aliquot coloni ex filiis Comeri in Bactrianis sibi sedes quaesiverunt. Et Ganges in India sedem sui nominis. Anno quadragesimoquinto eiusdem regis aliqui ex filiis Mesae ac Getuli iuncti simul primi Mesagetas in India propagaverunt. Eadem tempestate Saturnus rex Babyloniae misit principes coloniarum Assyrium, Medum, Moscum et Magogum: qui regna condiderunt Assyrium, Medum, et Magogum in Asia, Moscos vero et in Asia simul et Europa. Anameon quoque adolescentulus Maeones a se dictos condidit, et regnavit centum quinquaginta annis.

2. Secundus rex Babyloniae Iuppiter Belus filius dicti Saturni, regnavit annis .lxii. et fundamenta designata Babyloniae oppidi magis quam urbis erexit.

Pace fruebatur usque circa finem imperii sui. Anno .iii. huius, Comerus more Scythico unde venerat docuit suos Italos urbem curribus componere. Et idcirco Veii appellati sunt vocabulo Sago, qui Veias plaustrum appellant, et urbem ex his compositam si parva sit Veitulam, si magna Ulurdum, si metropolis Cy Ocholam ad haec quoque tempora Scythae plaustris et curru pro domibus utuntur. Et sub solario quidem stabulum, supra vero habent officinas domus. Concludit et loca a se cognominata Tyras, postquam Tyrum fundavit, cum principibus coloniarum littora maris tenuit, fundavitque Thraces Archadius Archadiam, Emathius Emathiam tenuit. Anno .xlv. huius Beli Ianus pater posuit colonias in Arabia Felice, et a suo nomine unas vocavit Noam, et a cognomine Ianineas. Qui vero ex posteritate Comeri erant Galli ab Avito cognomine illos appellavit Gallos. Anno .lvi. huius Beli Chemesenus venit in Italiam ad Comeros, et non comparente Comero, coepit colonias regere atque corrumpere suis impietatibus et sceleribus.

3. Ianus vero pater circa Arabiae Felicis fluvium plures colonias relinquens, et a se Ianineas cognominans, in Aphricam ad Tritonem venit. Hac aetate Iuppiter Belus coepit libidine dominandi torqueri. Et paulo ante Araxa cum filio Scytha, creato omnium gentium Sagarum rege Sabatio Saga, atque in Armenia relicto, ipsa occupavit omnem partem Occidentalem ab Armenia usque in Sarmatiam Europae. At vero Iuppiter Belus quum non possit alios subiugare nisi subacto et trucidato Sabatio Sagarum rege, clam molitus est illum perimere. Cumque Saturnus prospiceret se non posse evadere quod innumeras insidias sibi paraverat Iuppiter Belus, clandestina fuga se tutabat, in Sagis Caspiis delitescando. Cumque naturae concederet, iussit filio Nino ut Sabatium Sagam funditus deleret, et omnes populos Babylonico regno

subiiceret, quia omnium in orbe primum fuisset. Quo accepto Sabatius delitescebat in Bactrianis Sagis, quousque cerneret tempus idoneum vel ad regnum vel ad fugam. Ita arma Iovis contra eum parata illum regno pepulerunt circa tempora Semiramidis. Eodem tempore Triton reliquit filium Hammonem regem Libyae, qui accepit coniugem Rheam sororem Camesenui Saturni Aegyptiorum, sed tamen ex Almanthea adolescentula clam Rhea Dionysium sustulit, et in Nysam urbem Arabiae educandum misit.

4. Tertius rex Babyloniae a nostris scribitur Ninus, Iovis Beli filius, et regnavit annis .lii. Hic omnibus suis viribus sumptis armis patris sui Iovis Beli,omnibus bellum intulit, nulli parcens, et Sabatium Sagam quod esset in omnium desiderio omni studio ad interitum quaeritabat, quare etiam toto huius tempore exul apud suos delituit. Hic omnium primus ex nostris regibus Babylonicum regnum propagavit, et omnium primus templum Belo patri, et matri Iunoni, et Rheae aviae, et statuas in medio oppidi Babyloniae erexit. Anno huius Nini .iv. Tuyscon gigas Sarmatas legibus format apud Rhenum. Idipsum agit Iubal Celtiberos, et Samotes apud Celtas. Econtra Camesenus Saturnus Aegyptiorum Comaros Italos nitebatur corrumpere, iuuantibus illum convenis et advenis quos ille pro Italiae coloniis conduxerat, quos ipsi vocant Montanos Aborigines.

5. At apud Libyam lis orta est inter Rheam et Hammonen ob stuprum admissum cum Almanthia, quaerebatque Rhea ubi Dionysius esset ut eum perderet, et diu lis ista rixaque perseveravit. Anno Nini .x. Ianus pater ex Aphrica in Celtiberos Hispalos venit, ubi duas colonias dimisit a se dictas Noelas et Noeglas. His enim etiam antea cognominibus cognominaverat uxores Iapeti et Chemesenui. Nini anno .xix. Ianus pater veniens in Italiam cum comperisset Camesenuum

praeter opinionem corrumpentem iuuentutem, tribus annis illum aequo animo tulit. Deinde illi aliquot coloniis assignatis, eum Italia excedere iubet. Ipse omnes colonias divisit. Etenim omnes colonos Comaros corruptos et convenas et advenas, montana trans Ianiculum amnem colere iubet, illisque filiam suam Cranam Helernam, id est, suffragio ab his electam et exaltatam reginam cum sceptro Albam dat: namque duos filios suos novissimos cum illorum posteritate Cranum et Cranam Ianus cum Comaro miserat, coalverantque in gentem atque posteritatem maximam, quam nostra aetate Ianigenam vocant, cognominant autem Razenuam, id est, sacram propagatricem incubamque, contra impietatem Camesenui. Itaque suam posteritatem separatam ab aboriginibus esse voluit cis Ianiculum amnem in planitie atque maritimis. Cognominavit autem eam Razenuam, ut et Cranum Razenuum. Interea quum Italia discessisset Camesenuus, ad illum Rhea venit, et illi nupta ambo contra Hammonem cum Titanibus pergunt, ibique bello commisso pellunt regno Hammonem et in Cretam cogunt. Cum in Libya Camesenuus regnat, parit ex Rhea sorore Osirim, quem cognominavit Iovem. Vigesimosecundo anno Nini Ianus in Thuscia Ianiculum, quod aetate Camesenui condidit, sedem sibi perpetuam statuit usque Arnum, ubi colonias positas vocavit Aryn Ianuas .i. a Iano exaltatas. Vetuloniae iura dicebat et docebat atque regebat anno Nini .xliii. Sabatius quum adverteret nullo pacto sibi licere uti regnis, creato Armenis Sagis rege filio Barzane, in Sarmaticum ponti littus concessit. Eadem tempestate Dionysius Hammonis filius armis sumptis Rheam et Camesenuum regno paterno pellens, et secum Osirim retinens, in filiumque adoptans, eum a patre suo Hammonem Iovem cognominavit, uti a magistro Olympo Olympicum, eique totius Aegypti regnum tradidit. Eodem

anno virgo Palladon apud Tritonidem lacum infantula exposita ab eodem Dionysio Iove Libyco etiam cognominato, adoptata in filiam fuit, quae omnem militiam prima Libycos docuit. Eodem tempore Ianus pater Ianigenas Razenuos docuit physicam, astronomiam, divinationes, ritus, et rituales scripsit, et omnia literis mandavit. Eisdem vero nominibus et veneratione divina sunt prosequuti, quibus in Armenia Saga erant usi. Anno .xlix. Nini, Celtiberos rexit Iberus filius Iubal, a quo Iberi nominati fuerunt. Nini .li. anno apud Celtas regnavit Samotis filius Magus, a quo illis oppida plurima posita sunt. Ultimo anno Barzanes in Armenia a Nino superatur.

6. Quarto loco regnavit apud Babyloniam uxor Nini Ascalonita Semiramis annis quadragintaduobus. Haec antecessit militia, triumphis, divitiis, victoriis et imperio omnes mortales. Ipsa hanc urbem maximam ex oppido fecit, ut magis dici possit illam aedificasse quam ampliasse. Nemo umquam huic foeminae comparandus est virorum, tanta in eius vita dicuntur et scribuntur, cum ad vituperationem, tum maxime ad collaudationem magnifica.

7. Huius primo anno oritur ex Rhea et Camesenuo in Aegypto Iuno Aegyptia cognominata Isis maxima, frugifera, legifera, soror et uxor Osiridis.

8. Eodem anno Sabatius Saga a Ponto solvit in Italiam ad patrem Ianum, quem exceptum hospitio post aliquot annos illum Coritum creavit, et Aboriginibus praefecit. Anno sexto Semiramidis apud Rheni Sarmatas regnavit filius Tuysconis Mannus: et apud Ianigenas Razenuos Vesta uxor Iani sempiternum ignem custodiendum virginibus puellis edoctis sacra tradidit. Anno .xii. Semiramidis, Sabatius Saba cum Iano regnat.

9. Anno .xvii. Semiramidis Sabatius Saga docet agriculturam, et aliquantulum religionis.

10. Anno. Semiramidis vigesimosecundo Sabatius Sabum praefecit Sabinis et Aboriginibus. Ipse iuxta Ianiculum cum aliis Curetibus regionem coluit, et ibi obiit. Anno. xxxiiii. eiusdem apud Celtiberos regnat Iubelda, filius Iberi, apud montem sui nominis.

11. Quintus apud Babylonios regnavit Zameis Ninias, filius Semiramidis, annis triginta octo. In regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, ornavit tamen templa deorum, et Chaldaeos ampliavit.

12. Eius anno primo cum Sabatius obiit, Ianus pater senissimus filium suum Cranum Coritum creavit, octavoque post anno obiit, expletis vitae suae annis. cccl. et Ianigenae illum Vortumnum appellantes, templum illi et divinos honores, ut par erat, impenderunt.

13. Hoc anno Osiris inventis a se et a sorore Adolescentula frumento et frugibus, coepit docere illa in Palaestina, inde reversus in Aegyptum et invento aratro et his quae ad agriculturam pertinent, sensim universum peragravit orbem, docens quaecunque invenerat, et ita universo imperavit orbi, exceptis gentibus quae iam in Babyloniorum venerant potestatem.

14. His temporibus regnavit apud Celtas Sarron, qui ut contineret ferociam hominum tum recentum, publica literarum studia instituit, et apud Tuyscones Inghaeuon.

15. Sextus Babyloniae rex Arius regnavit annis .xxx. qui adiecit imperio omnes Bactrianos. Nam paulo ante mortem Niniae Camesenuus pulsus ab omni ferme orbe in Bactrianos sese contulerat, et illos Magico praestigio sibi devinxerat, adeo ut apud illos maximis viribus imperaret. Coacto autem Camesenuus maximo populorum exercitu invasit Assyrios, contra quem Ninus dimicans superior fuit, et Camesenuum obtruncavit, inde paulo post ipse obiit. Quare Arius collecto exercitu, post patris Niniae obitum, Bactrianos et omnes Caspios subiecit.

16. Cranus Ianigena sororem suam mortuam cum Ianigenis Razenuis suis et omnibus simul Aboriginibus solemni pompa celebrat. Et illi Lucum iuxta Ianiculum, amnem, solemnesque ritus et diem sacrat, ipse senex filium suum Aurunum Coritum creat.

17. Arii .xx. anno apud Celtiberos regnat Brygus, qui multa oppida suo nomini fundavit, adiectis nominibus capitum originum, quibus illa consignabat.

18. Apud Libyam regnavit priscus Hyarbas, vir ferox armis et militia Paladuae.

19. Anno .xxiv. Arii apud Ianigenas Razenuos regnat Aurunus filius Crani. Anno .xxix. apud Celtas Dryius peritiae plenus.

20. Septimus Assyriis imperat Aralius annis .xl. vir iste claruit ingenio et studio militari, et primus adauxit pompas et gemmas, et muliebres delitias. Apud Libyam Hyarbas cum Paladuis foeminis belligerans, non fuit illis par. Quare donis occurrens se ac regnum illarum permisit potestati.

21. Apud Tuyscones regnabat Herminon vir ferox armis, et apud Celtas Bardus, inventione carminum et musicae apud illos inclytus.

22. Aralii anno .x. Armeni Ianigenae Griphonii cum coloniis suis ad Aurunum Ianigenum venerunt, quos exceptos hospitio, etiam sedem cum Ianigenis Razenuis assignavit. Classe quoque Auson eodem tempore ab Auruno fuit exceptus anno octavo sequente, et ipsi sedes in orientali Italia ab eodem consignata fuit.

23. Idem Aurunus in Vetulonia lucum sacravit Crano, et inter Isos, id est, deos annumeravit. Iano quoque Vortumno templum et statuam non procul urbe dedicavit, et deo Razenuo in Vetulonia sacellum condidit.

24. Novissimis annis Aurunus Malot Tagetem filium creavit Coritum, et .xxxv. Aralii anno obiit et successit Malot Tages.

25. Anno penultimo Aralii classe venit ad Malot Tagetem Ianigenum Razenuum Phaeton cum filiis suis, qui inveniens omnia ab Ausoniis occupata ab Oriente, et montana a Gallis et Aboriginibus possessa, planitiem vero a Razenuis Ianigenis habitatam, donatus fuit parte Occidentali, posseditque cum sua posteritate montes et totum Eridanum usque in regionem proximam, istis relinquens nomina locis.

26. Eo tempore Italia in tribus locis arsit multis diebus circa Istros, Cymeos, et Vesuuios vocataque sunt a Ianigenis illa loca Palensana, id est, regio conflagrata.

27. Octavus rex Babyloniae fuit Baleus cognomento Xerses et regnavit annis .xxx. hunc appellaverunt Xersem, id est victorem et triumphatorem, quod imperaverit duplo plus gentibus quam Aralius. Erat enim militia ferox et fortunatus, et propagavit regnum usque prope Indios.

28. Huius Balei Xersis temporibus, regnat apud Celtiberos Tagus cognomento Orma, ex quo patria dicta fuit Taga. Apud Tuyscones regnat Marsus, et apud Lygures Phaeton, relicto filio Lygure, regressus est in Aethiopiam Maloth Tages ritus sacros a Iano traditos, et aruspiciam auxit.

29. Nonus rex Babyloniae Armatritis imperavit annis .xxxviii. Qui magis ad voluptates et delitias conversus, ea quae ad libidinem spectant, cum invenit tum maxime inventa ampliavit. Huius aetate apud Celtas Longho regnavit, et apud Celtiberos Betus, a quo regnum habuit nomen: et apud Ianigenas Sicanus filius Maloth Tagetis, a quo cognominata fuit Vetuloniae regio.

30. Anno vigesimo Armatritis Lygur misit Cydnum et Eridanum cum coloniis, cum fratribus et nepotibus: et occupaverunt usque Istrum in Italia.

31. Sicanus deificavit Aretiam, et nominavit eam lingua Ianigena Horchiam.

32. Osiris in Thracia peremit gigantem Lycurgum.

33. Anno Armatritis trigesimosecundo apud Celtiberos tyrannidem assumpsit Deabus. Qui hoc cognomentum promeruit a fodinis auri et divitiis, quas primus ibi cepit et invenit opprimens colonias. Et post duos annos apud Celtas regnavit Bardus iunior.

34. Decimus Assyriorum rex imperat Belochus, annis trigintaquinque. Qui idcirco a Belo sumpsit cognomen, quia cum imperium voluit exercere maximum pontificum Beli Iovis, et maxime circa auspicia et divinationes occupatus fuit eius animus. Apud Tuyscones regnavit Gambrivius, vir ferocis animi.

35. Apud Emathios coepit regnare Macedon filius Osiridis, a quo nunc nomen retinet provincia: atque circa hoc regnum Osiris depressit gigantes, qui iam tyrannidem coeperant.

36. Vigesimonono huius Belochi anno, apud Celtiberos Lomnimi florebant, et aedificaverunt a suo nomine urbem magnam Lomnimiam. Anno autem sequente Itali oppressi a tyrannis gigantibus in tribus Palensanis, advocaverunt Osirim, qui cum coloniis ad Istri vicinos fontes pervenerat. Osiris tota Italia potitus, decem annis illam tenuit, et a se nominavit in triumphum: et sub ditione positis gigantibus, regem Ianigenis reliquit Lestrigonem gigantem, sibi ex filio Neptuno nepotem.

37. Anno .xxxiii. Belochi, rex Lucus regnare coepit apud Celtas. Novissimis annis Belochi, tenuit mare Atticum, et ebulliens inundavit Atticam.

38. Undecimus rex Babylonis fuit Baleus annis quinquagintaduobus. Hic post Semiramidem supra caeteros enituit fama, splenduit imperio usque intra Indiam. Libri multi de eius gestis sunt a nostris conscripti. Huius anno decimo Porcus Cados Sene insulam complevit Vetulonicis coloniis, partem reliquit posteritati Lygures.

39. Huius Balei temporibus Indi sua obtulerunt Babyloniis. Osiris in Aegyptum reversus columnam quae permanet inscripsit in monumentum expeditionis suae per totum orbem.

40. Apud Tuyscones regnat Suaevus, et apud Celtas Celtes, a quo nomen habuerunt montes illorum maximi a conflagratione sylvarum, qui dividunt Celtas et Celtiberos.

41. Typhon Aegyptius, omnibus orbis gigantibus consciis, fratrem suum Osiridem Iovem iustum Aegyptium peremit, et ipse in Aegypto assumit tyrannidem, Busiris in Phoenicia, in Phrygia vero alius Typhon, in Libya Anteus, in Celtiberia Lomnini, in Italia Lestrigones, et in toto mari Milinus Cretensis.

42. Hercules Osiridis filius, cui nomen est Libyus, cum Iside in Aegypto sustulit Typhonem, in Phoenicia Busiridem, alium vero Typhonem in Phrygia, Milinum in Creta, Anteum in Libya, Lomninos in Celtiberia, a qua substituto illis rege Hispalo, ad tyrannos Italiae conversus est. Cumque in Italiam per Celtas transiret, permissu parentum Galathea genuit illis Galathem regem.

43. In Italia decem annis debellavit, et expulit Lestrigones, postquam .xx. annos apud illos pacifice regnavit, multaque illis oppida a suo nomine et a suo cognomine Musarna sicut Gedrosiae et Carnaniae fundavit, et loca aquis impedita habitationi hominum commoda fecit. Anno itaque Balei .xli. orsus in Italia pugnam contra gigantes, biennio ante illius obitum illos delevit. Ita ab Hispalis Hercules venit in Italiam, Lestrigones et omnes tyrannos sustulit, Arnos, Lybarnos, Musarnos a se cognominatos condidit, triginta que annis rexit, et accersitum Thuscum illis regem reliquit.

44. Altades duodecimus rex Babyloniis fuit, regnans annis .xxxii. Hic interposuit tempus suum delitiis

existimans vanum esse laboribus, et suae vitae miseria continua laborare, non quidem aliorum humanaeque gentis utilitate ac beneficio, sed exitio ac servitute. Idcirco suum institutum fuit, ut vita divitiis et gloria, aliena stultitia et miseria a suis maioribus partis sibi frueretur quoad viveret.

45. Huius Altadis tempore Hercules filium Thuscum ex Araxa susceptum, ex Tanaide regione evocat. Galathes a quo Samothei Galli dicti, eius aetate regnavit apud Celtas, et Vandalus apud Tuyscones.

46. Hercules Thuscum filium Ianigenis creat Coritum ex more. Quo etiam illis rege relicto, ipse senex admodum in Celtiberos revertitur, anno Altadis trigesimonono, et regnavit ibi atque obiit. Cui Celtiberi templum ad illius Gades, et sepulchrum et divinos honores tribuerunt, plurimasque illius triumpho et nomini urbes dedicaverunt, ut Libysosonam, Libysocam, Libuncam, Liboram.

47. Galatheum puerum ad Herculem missum in Siciliam cum coloniis misit Thuscus. Idem Thuscus primus Palatuam militiam, et initiamenta Razenuos Ianigenas docuit.

48. Tertiusdecimus Babyloniae rex Mamitus regnavit annis triginta. Is rursus milites exercuit et assuefecit laboribus, et interpositis delitiis, ungentis, et opobalsamis, militiam et pugnas exequebatur, coepitque formidini esse Syris et Aegyptiis. Huius anno vigesimosecundo Alteus Thusci filius regnat apud Ianigenas, et biennio ante Hesperus frater Kitym apud Celtiberos, rursus apud Celtas Narbon, et apud Tuyscones Teutanes.

49. Quartusdecimus rex Babyloniis imperavit Mancaleus annis .xxx. Cuius anno primo apud Celtiberos, Kitym pulso fratre Hespero in Italiam, regnavit.

50. Duodecimo vero anno Mancalei, apud Ianigenas regnat Kitym, relicto in Celtiberis rege filio Sicoro.

Eiusdem Mancalei temporibus apud Tuyscones regnat Hercules Alemannus, apud Celtas Lugdus, a quo provincia et homines cognomenta sumpserunt.

51. Kytim ob mentis excellentiam Ianigenae sua lingua vocaverunt Italum Atala. Hic filiam suam Electram Ianigenarum principi Cambo Blasconi dedit coniugem. Qui pro nuptiis colonias misit trans alpes Italiae proximas, et Romam filiam suam Italus primo subreginam Aboriginibus sacrat. Filium quoque suum Morgetem Italus Kitym creavit Coritum.

52. Quintusdecimus Assyriis imperat Sferus annis .xx. vir de cuius gestis et prudentia omne vulgus personat. Huius temporibus Morges filius Itali creavit Coritum suum cognatum Camboblasconem, et paulo post idem Coritus manet Itus. Apud Celtiberos regnat Sicanus filius Sicori, post obitum Sferi sub Mamelo.

53. Sextusdecimus rex Mamelus Babyloniis imperat annis .xxx. cuius anno octavo Romanessos filius Romae fit primus subregulus montanorum Aboriginum, et Sicanus regnat apud Celtiberos.

54. Apud Celtas Beligius, a quo illi Beligici appellantur, regnat, et apud Ianigenas tandem a patre Iasius creatus est Coritus.

55. Iasius creatus est Coritus, et anno sequente simul coeperunt duo reges, videlicet primus rex Atheniensium Cecrops priscus et Iasius Ianigena apud Celtas.

56. In Iasii nuptiis affuit Io Aegyptia. Sola enim foeminarum uno plus Dodone centenario vixit, et universum ferme orbem lustravit post viri interitum.

57. Decimus septimus rex Babyloniorum fuit Sparetus, et regnavit annis .xl. Sub eo coeperunt miranda in orbe. Nam terraemotus Babylonios terruit. Athenienses regnum exorsi sunt anno .iv. eius. Et eodem anno Iasius Ianigena imperavit Italicis, et Siceleus aliquanto post Celtiberis.

58. Sub Spareti imperio finierunt Aegyptii reges magni Orus, Acencheres, Acoris, et coepit Chencres qui cum Hebraeis de Magica pugnavit et ab eis submersus fuit. Anno quoque huius .xxxiiii. et .xxxv. in Thessalia diluvium fuit, non solum ex imbribus, sed quod obturatis montibus casu, flumina planitiem impleverunt, et subsequuto terraemotu apertis ostiis montium, aquae in alveos regressae. Et in alia eorum parte post terraemotum sequutum est incendium, sub quodam illorum rege Phaetonte, et noster rex Phoenices et Syros subegit. Antea vero anno .xx. huius imperii ab Italia Io in Aegyptum regreditur. Et lis prima intestina oritur pro regno inter Dardanum et Iasium. Aborigines sequebantur partes Dardani, Ianigenae vero et Siculi cum Siceleo partes Iasii.

59. Decimusoctavus rex praefuit Babyloniis Ascatades annis .xli. qui funditus omnem Syriam ditionis suae fecit, cuius anno .xiii. vitis inventa apud Graecos narratur. Sub eodem anno Dardanus Iasium dolo peremit, et fugiens in Samothraciam diu ibi latuit.

60. Iasio Coribantus filius successit.

61. Ascatadis anno. .viii. Cancres victus Hebraeorum magica periit in mari, cui apud Aegyptios successit Acherres, apud Celtiberos Lusus, apud Celtas Allobrox, et apud Aborigines Italos Romanessus filius Romae primus Saturnus consecratus mox obiit, cui successit filius eius Picus priscus.

62. Anno ultimo regis Ascatadis, Ato donavit Dardanum parte agri Maeonici, et ita regnum Troianum coepit. Dardanus si qua iura in Italiae regno habebat, resignavit Turreno filio Atus.

63. Turrhenus adnavigans in Italiam Ianigenam a Cybele et Coribanto tamquam ex Herculeis hilari hospitio exceptus, et civilitate Razenua donatus est.

64. Ipse Turrhenus multa Maeonica ornamenta proferens, dedit. Coribantus vero et Cybeles ornata

Dynastia duodecim ducum duodecim populorum qui essent ex Ianigenis, ipsi in Phrygiam se contulerunt.

65. Porro etiam sub Ascatade apud Aegyptios fuere reges Cherres et Armeus qui cognominatus est Danaus, et Ramesses cognomento Aegyptus. Itaque qui reges et tempora traduntur a nostris de primoribus regnis orbis a Iani diluvio primo usque ad Dardaniae regnum conditum, his nostris brevissimis annotationibus sint hactenus dicta.

Poor Annius Viterbensis! What obloquy has been heaped upon him in the last four hundred years! As great a scholar as Trithemius, to whom we owe the preservation of one of the most important forgeries of the eighth century, he has suffered even more at the hands of his detractors, as well as his friends; but it will not be difficult to reestablish his reputation as one of the great Renaissance writers.

"Annius of Viterbo (Giovanno Nanni), a Dominican monk," says the *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* of 1732, "pretended to be well versed in ancient history and the learned languages, but it was all idle bragging, and he betrayed himself most shamefully when he edited certain lists of old kings and history under the name of Berosus, Manetho, Megasthenes, Fabius Pictor, Cato, Sempronius, etc., whose true writings had long been lost, trying to persuade people that he had found them in old manuscripts. . . . *How little he understood Greek, may be partially judged from the fact that he did not even know the name of Megasthenes, whose books he claimed to reconstruct, since he ascribed them to Metasthenes.*" After this follows a story about his having faked inscriptions, and a long list of authors who have denounced him and the names of a few who have taken his part.

Two years before, there had appeared in Paris volume XI of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des*

hommes illustres, where we have a complete account of the man and of his work. He was born in 1432 and died in 1502. He entered early the order of St. Dominic, where he became very famous for his science, but still more for his impostures in matters of erudition and antiquity. The only work of his that interests us is the *Antiquitatum variarum volumina. XVII*, which appeared in its first editions in 1498 in Rome and in Venice, and contained the following books:

1. *Notitia generalis sequentium sexdecim.*
2. *Institutio de aequivocis circa Etruscam originem.*
3. *Vertumniana Propertii.*
4. *Xenophon de aequivocis hominum nominibus.*
5. *Quintus Fabius Pictor de aureo saeculo, et de Origine urbis Romae ac vocabulorum ejus.*
6. *Myrsilus Lesbius Historicus de bello Pelasgico et origine Italiae et Thyrrenorum.*
7. *Fragmenta Catonis.*
8. *Fragmenta duo Itinerarii Antonini Pii.*
9. *Sempronius de Divisione et Chorographia Italiae.*
10. *Epithetum Archiloci de Temporibus.*
11. *Metasthenes Persa de judicio temporum et annalium Persarum.*
12. *De primis temporibus et XXIV. Regibus Hispaniae, et ejus antiquitate.*
13. *Etrusca simul et Italica emendatissima Chronographia.*
14. *Philonis Breviarium de temporibus.*
15. *Defloratio Berosi Chaldaïca Libris V.*
16. *Manethonis Sacerdotis Aegyptii supplementum ad Berosum.*
17. *Anniae quaestiones ad consobrinum suum F. Thomam Annium ejusdem Ordinis.*

The author of the *Mémoires* gives a long list and discussion of writers who have rejected or defended Annius, but sides with the "best" critics, who assert that

the whole book is the invention of Annius, *who did not even know the true names of the authors whom he produced, for he called Metasthenes an historian who was known in antiquity as Megasthenes.*

The most sensible view in regard to Annius was given by Apostolo Zeno,[1] who after a long and critical review of all opinions, comes to the conclusion that it is unthinkable that Annius, a most learned man, who was Master at the Vatican, should have tried to cheat with his literary work, and asserts that Annius was simply the victim of some cheat; and Tiraboschi, in his *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. VI, Book III, accepts Zeno's moderate view. But Ginguené[2] returns to the old accusation, even repeating the slur that *Annius called Megasthenes Metasthenes.*

How ill founded is the accusation of Annius' ignorance in all the critics quoted, is proved by the fact that Annius did not make any such mistake about Megasthenes as is claimed by the critics, who did not trouble themselves about verifying their baseless statement. Annius says distinctly in the introduction to the *De iudicio temporum* of Metasthenes, that Metasthenes was a Persian chronographer and a priest, who was not in any way to be confounded with Megasthenes, the Greek historian and layman.[3] One can look only with contempt upon the whole brood of critics who were guilty of such criminal negligence, and who have thrown down this misstatement as their trump card. Far more decent is Sebastian Muenster, who in the Third Book of his *Cosmographia* has a chapter, *De antiquis Germaniae populis*, where he says that he

[1] *Dissertazioni Vossiane*, Venezia 1753, vol. II, p. 186 ff.
[2] *Histoire littéraire d'Italie*, Paris 1824, vol. III, p. 406 ff.
[3] "Corruptissime tamen inveni hunc in aliquibus Megasthenem pro Metasthene, quia primus fuit Graecus et historicus, hic vero Persa et chronographus, et ille laicus, hic vero sacerdos, quia non scripsit nisi publica et probata fide, quod erat proprium sacerdotis officium, ut hoc loco ipse Metasthenes indicat."

cannot agree with those who reject Berosus, because it does not agree with the other authors. "However it may be, I know this much, that as far as the Hebrew words are concerned, of which there is a great number in these fragments, no deception can be discovered, and I am obliged to have faith in the book and the author, because at the time when Berosus was published by a certain monk, there was no one among the Christians who was expert in Hebrew. Indeed, who among the unlearned monks, who knew almost nothing of languages, could have known what Estha, Maia, Arecia, and Ruha meant?"

The works of Annius show stupendous learning, even at a time when the polyhistorians were abroad. He supplied the texts which he published with a very detailed commentary, based on all the classics accessible to him, and on the wisdom of the Talmud. He quoted, not perfunctorily, but specifically, and many of them very often,[1] Aristotle, Varro, Livy, Ovid, Virgil, Ptolemy, Pliny, Ennius, Junius, Propertius, Cato, Suetonius, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Herodotus, Solinus, Strabo, Archilochus, Hyginus, etc., etc. He was well acquainted with the works of Jerome, especially with the *Onomastica*, and quoted for his information about Hebrew and Aramaic his friend, Rabbi Samuel, the Talmudist, obviously Samuel Zarfati, the court physician of Alexander VI, a most learned Spanish Jew,[2] and two other Talmud-

[1] I give these sources in the order in which they are mentioned in the Index of the edition of 1512.

[2] "Ut noster Samuel dicit," fol. XLa; "ut erudite noster Samuel Talmuldista interpretabat," fol. XLb; "al enim teste Hieronymo commixtionem significat, et ut Talmudista doctus dicebat, etiam ligaturam et fasciculum," fol. XLVIIIb; "ut Rabi Samuel interpretatur," fol. LIIIa; "ut Samuel noster exposuit," fol. LXb; "teste Talmudista Samuele et divo Hieronymo," fol. LXVa; "ut Talmudista noster interpretabat," fol. LXXIIIa; "verum Aramei teste Thalmudista nostro Samuele, unico verbo haec praedicta quattuor concludunt," fol. CLVIIIa; "similiter phescem armatum equitem Aramee significet, ut rabi Samuel exposuit," fol. CLXXa, etc.

ists.[1] The extraordinary care exercised by him is proved in one case where he replied to his cousin's enquiry as to the origin of the name "Ascreanum" and its adjoining places, by saying that he had not yet found out whether or not Ascreanum was an Aramaic word.[2] On the other hand, he gave the precise references to passages in the Talmud, wherever such had been furnished him by his friend Samuel.[3]

It is sheer madness to accuse such a man of wilful forgery. A man who is supposed to have concocted all the Italian and Germanic antiquities would most certainly have committed a forgery on the Spanish antiquity, since his whole volume is dedicated to Ferdinand and Isabella; but he only builds up the origin of Spain by harmonizing Eusebius, Berosus, and the other authorities, in so far as they bear on Spanish antiquity. Of course, the books he published were all forgeries, but they were forgeries made in the eighth or ninth century by that clever school of genealogical forgers who produced the writings of Aethicus, Virgil Maro, Hegesippus, Jordanes, Tacitus, etc. Most, possibly all, the books, came from a collection which was made in 1315 by a certain Guilielmus of Mantua,[4] in which there was also a fragment of Verrius, which he quoted.[5]

[1] "Quaeris quae et quot sint illa nomina quae in octavis pascae ferme quinque jam annis superioribus cum rabi Samuele et duobus aliis Thalmudistis conferebam," fol. CLXIXb.

[2] "Ascreanum nondum comperi an sit Arameae originis," fol. CLXVIb.

[3] "Talmudistae vero in libro Aaboda Zara, in distinctione qua incipit Lipfne Idiem aiunt," etc., fol. Cb; "de zanedrin vero deletionem Hebraei scribunt in Talmud in libro Baba Bathra, in distinctione Assutafin," fol. CIb.

[4] "Porro quae habentur nunc Itineraria Antonini non sunt, sed forte ex fragmentis aliquot collecta, et plura his addita, multa diminuta, plura immutata. Argumento sunt duo fragmenta quae apud me sunt ex collectaneis magistri Guillelmi, collecta anno Salutis MCCCXV," fol. LXXIIb; "quisquis fuerit iste Cato qui de originibus scripsit, non potui eum integrum habere, nisi fragmenta et quidem inordinata in collectaneis vetustis cuiusdam magistri Guilielmi Mantuani. Nos vero in ordinem solum fragmenta redegimus," fol. LVIIa.

[5] "Quaeris an Turrenam Graecus Hercules attigerit, quia dicis Faulam puellam fuisse praemium virtutis eius. Responsio. Lactantius in primo divinarum institutionum libro, de propria religione Romanorum dicit eam

Zeno[1] adduces the statement of Michele le Quien that he had seen in the Colbertine Library a catalogue of authors quoted in an old manuscript, which was compiled between 1220 and 1230, where there was reference to *Orosius* (for *Berosus*) *de Historia Chaldaeorum*, and *Megasthenes de Historia Indica*. Unfortunately, it is not possible to verify this statement. Zeno also mentions the fact that Leibniz published a chronicle, which was written shortly after 1240, where there is a reference to a chronology by Philo, like the one used by Annius. This statement we can verify. Annius published a very brief *Breviarium de temporibus*, ascribed to Philo. It has nothing in common with the works of Philo Judaeus, but the name of the author. In Annius' fragment we have a genealogy from King David on. In the *Chronicon Alberici, Monachi Trium Fontium*,[2] Philo says that the Scythians were derived from Japheth, and from these later came the Trojans, and from the Trojans came the

fuisse scortum Herculis, et producit Verrium testem; tamen in fragmento Verrii, quod magister Guilielmus Mantuanus collegit, non utitur Verrius vocabulo scortum sed praemium. Sic enim iacent eius verba. Accam Larentiam Faustuli Thusci uxorem, quem haeredem instituerit Romulus, sacris parentalibus donaverunt. Tuscam item adolescentulam Faulam quia virium Alcei praemium ad lacum Cyminium Fanumque Volturnae fuit, in deam retulerunt. Haec Verrius," fol. CLXIVb.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 190 f.

[2] "Anno L. aetatis Phalec dicit Philo ex tribus filiis Noae eo vivente nati sunt XXIIII milia virorum et centum, extra mulieres et parvulos. Nemroth filius Chus filii Cham regnavit super filios Cham, Jectan super filios Sem, Suffene super filios Japhet. Anno L° aetatis Phalec Reu filii sui XX turris aedificatur. Abhinc post diluvium et divisionem linguarum quatuor principalia regna surrexerunt in terra: primum Scytharum ab aquilone tempore Saruc, ubi primus regnavit Thanus, a quo fluvius Thanais denominatur. Scithae fuerunt de Japhet, a quibus postea descenderunt Troiani et a Troianis Romani et Franci et multi alii. Secundum regnum Aegyptiorum a meridie ubi primus regnavit Zoel sive Mineus. Tertium regnum principale Assyriorum ad orientem caeteris excellentius similiter de Cham et ex parte de Sem. Quartum regnum Sciciniorum [Sicyoniorum] ad occidentem in insula moncionis dicitur fuisse de Sem. De Sem namque fuerunt non solum Judaei sed et Medi et Persae et Graeci, de Cham Assyrii et Aegyptii et Chananaei. De Japhet Scithae et Troiani, Romani et Franci. Item de Sem gentes XXVII, de Cham XXX et de Japhet XV," G. G. Leibniz, *Accessiones historicae*, Hannoverae 1698, vol. II, p. 3 f.

Romans, Franks, and many others. This at once places Philo with the eighth and ninth century forgers who derived the Franks from the Trojans. The forgery cannot have been committed later, because the interest in the Troy origin for chronological purposes wanes after that. Thus we get the confirmation that Annius merely reproduced eighth or ninth century forgeries, taking them in good faith, even as d'Avezac, Pertz, and Wuttke, in the nineteenth century, found it incumbent upon themselves to defend the Aethicus forgery as a genuine work of St. Jerome, and as all scholars have credulously accepted the *Germania* of Tacitus as a real work of the Latin author.

Thus far we have not discovered even a distant trace of forgery in Annius himself. The *Defloratio Berosi* he claims to have received as a gift at Genoa from Master George, the Armenian.[1] Annius knew full well of the original Berosus, for in the introduction to the first book he quotes from Josephus as to his having been a Babylonian. Berosus, according to Annius, flourished in the time of Alexander the Great, was versed in Greek, and taught at Athens the Chaldaic science, especially astronomy. The work of Berosus is called *Defloratio*, says Annius, because, to use the expression of Josephus, he culled (defloravit) the whole Chaldaic history, mentioning the deluge, the ark, Noah, and his sons. As a matter of fact, *Defloratio* was the usual word for an historical work among the church fathers, and is, for example, so used by Cassiodorus. It is just the kind of title an eighth century forger would have affected, but a fifteenth century writer would not have thought of it.

[1] "Frater autem Matthias olim provincialis Armeniae ordinis nostri, quem existens prior Genuae illum Comi hospitio excepi, et a cuius socio magistro Gaeorgio similiter Armeno, hanc Berosi defloration em dono habui," fol. CXIIIIb.

I.4. The forger supplied Noah with two classical wives, Tytea and Pandora, and with two others, representing two cities in Spain, Noela and Noegla, mentioned in Pliny, IV.111, because these permitted an etymological relation with Noah. In V.5, the forger forgot that Noela and Noegla had been mentioned by him as women, and now made them colonies established by Ianus, *i. e.*, Noah, in Spain. The forger was acquainted with Pliny.

I.5. The forger proposes to write a brief account of the world. Italy is here called *Kytim*, while Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Pontus, is given as *Sarmatia*.

In V.48, *Kytim* was at first settled in Spain, but, according to V.50, he reigned in Italy,[1] and according to V.51, was called Italus Atala "ob mentis excellentiam." *Kytim* is the *Cethim*, *Chetim* of Daniel, XI.31, which Jerome translated by *Romani*.[2] But the forger, who made Kytim the eponymous hero of Italy, had to explain the reason for the change of name. He wrote in V.51: "Kytim ob mentis excellentiam Ianigenae sua lingua vocaverunt Italum Atala." Annius was always ready with sources to prove the etymologies which are quoted in the passages published by him. But in this case, as in several others, neither the classical sources nor Rabbi Samuel could help him. So he confined himself to explaining as nearly as he could the meaning in Berosus.[3] He did not even attempt to inform us what kind of language that of the Ianigenae was. The forger, as usual, employed Arabic etymologies, where Jerome's *Onomas-*

[1] "Kitim, quam nunc Italiam nominant," III. 4.

[2] "Siim quippe et Chethim quos nos *trieres et Romanos* interpretati sumus, Hebraei *Italos* volunt intelligi atque *Romanos*," *Comment. in Danielem*, XI. 31.

[3] "Magis per expositionem quam distinctionem nominis dicit Berosus, aut traductor Berosi, Italum Itala. Quasi dicat: Vocaverunt eum ob excellentiam mentis Italaa sive Atalaa, quia eundem significant," fol. CXLIa.

tica failed him, thus giving himself away as to the age in which he wrote. The forger derived *Italus* from Arab. اطلع *'ittala'a* or اطلع *'atla'* "he got or obtained knowledge."

Annius could not possibly have made the mistake of confounding the Sarmatians with the Germans. Indeed, he discusses the matter quite sensibly in IV.4, where the forger says that Janus made *Tuiscon* king of Sarmatia from the Danube to the Rhine, by quoting Tacitus' *Germania* and Ptolemy. In I.5, *Tuisconus* is the name of the nation from the Rhine through the Sarmatians up to the Pontus. In II.3, *Tuiscon* is given as "Germanorum et Sarmatum pater." According to V.1, *Tuiscon* established the Sarmatian nations. In V.4, *Tuiscon*, the giant, gave laws to the Sarmatians on the Rhine. In V.8, the son of *Tuiscon*, Mannus, ruled over the Sarmatians on the Rhine. In V.21, the *Tuiscones*, that is, the Germans, are ruled over by a fierce King Herminon. In V.28, the king of the *Tuiscones* is Marsus; in V.34, he is succeeded by Gambrivius; in V.40, by Suevus; in V.45, by Vandalus; in V.48, by Teutanes; in V.50, by Hercules Alemannus.

The forger, who was a Goth resident in France, or, far more likely, in Switzerland, knew the current name for "German," preserved in the oldest French sources as *tiesche*, *tiesque*, *thyos*, *ties*, etc., and which is given in LLatin, among others, as *tutiscus*, hence, in OItalian, *tudesco*, now *tedesco*. Obviously he pronounced it *tuisco*, and so created his eponymous hero, *Tuiscon*. From this *Tuiscon* he derived the eponymous heroes for the tribes that he knew from history, the Suevi, Vandals, and Teutons. From the *Annales* of Tacitus, I.56, and II.25, he knew of the *Marsi*, and from the same source he knew of *Arminius*, the fierce king. Thus *Herminon* and *Marsus* became descendants of *Tuiscon*.

The eponymous heroes, Suevus, Vandalus, Teutanes, need no explanation, but *Gambrivius* is unquestionably the eponymous hero of the Langobards, because *Gambara* is given in the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*[1] as the first queen of the Langobards. In the *Codex Gothanus* she is called "parens Langobardorum."[2] *Gambara* is apparently the same as *Cambra* of Hunibald, the wife of Antenor, the most beautiful and the wisest of women among the Franks, to whom she gave laws and whom she taught how to build forts—a woman by sex, a king and priest by intelligence. From this comes the name of *Sicamber*="num et tu *Cambrae* calles prudentiam."[3] This is identical with the account of *Gambara* in Ariprandus:[4] "cecidit autem sors super filiam regis *Gambaram* nomine et super omnes terre illius meliores." Hunibald's equation of *cambra*—"prudentia" is borne out by the OHGerman glosses, "*gambri* sagacitas, agonia," "*gambren* strenuus," "*kābarē* uuizzigen snellen strenuis."[5] The word stands alone in OHGerman and is, no doubt, Arab. جبار *ǵabbār* "strong, omnipotent, great, high."

Hercules Alemannus (in V.50) presupposes another Hercules, even as *Alemannus* is related to *Mannus*, the son of Tuiscon (V.8). It is clear that the forger of Berosus was trying to write a genealogy chiefly for the Alamannians, hence the son of Tuiscon is *Mannus*, the eponymous hero of the Alamannians, and he strengthens their importance by giving them a special Hercules. Hercules was easily bandied about, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that *Saxnot*, the Saxon divinity, mentioned by the side of Woden and Thunaer

[1] *MGH., Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum*, p. 2; also pp. 52, 195, 221, 234.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[3] Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 5.
[4] *MGH., Scrip. rer. lang. et ital.*, p. 593 f.
[5] Steinmeyer and Sievers, vol. II, p. 291.

in the Saxon *Abrenuntiatio diaboli*,[1] is an abbreviated *Hercules Saxanus*, who is given in a large number of inscriptions[2] near Pont à Mousson and near Brohl, but always in stone quarries. Obviously, *Saxanus* is derived from Lat. *saxum* "stone," but the relation to *Saxones* seemed so plain to the forger of the Saxon *Antiquitas*, who directly or indirectly knew of the presence of Hercules in the region of the Rhine, that he created Hercules as a Saxon divinity, perpetuated in the *Abrenuntiatio* as *Saxnot*. But, if there was a *Hercules Saxanus*, why not create a *Hercules Alemannus?*

In I.4 one of Noah's wives is given as *Tytea magna*. In II.1 Noah is mentioned as the father of all the gods and men, chaos and the seed of the world. Chaos deposits the seed in *Tytea*, that is, *Aretia*, or earth, and thus everything is produced from it. In III.4 Noah goes to Italy and becomes *Janus*, "the heavens, sun, chaos, seed of the world," etc., while Tytea is "the mother of all, whom they called *Aretia*, that is, Earth, and whom they called *Esta*, that is, Fire, after her death." Curiously enough, Gedaliah Ibn Yaḥya, in his *Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah*, adopted this story from Pseudo-Berosus and spoke of the identification of Noah with *Janus*, deriving the latter, like Pseudo-Berosus, from *yayin* "wine." His wife was by him given as *Aricia*, from Heb. *erez* "earth," she being the mother of every living thing. After her death she was called *Eshta*, from *esh* "fire," on account of her ascension to heaven.[3]

The whole of III.5 is a farrago from the Bible account of Noah and from the early mediaeval knowledge about *Janus*. Ibn Yaḥya showed the Semitic

[1] *MGH., Leges*, vol. I, p. 19.
[2] See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new edition, vol. XV, col. 610.
[3] *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. IX, p. 322.

origin of the words employed by Pseudo-Berosus, but he was mistaken as to their Hebrew origin, for Pseudo-Berosus gives them as Aramaic. *Janus* "vitifer, vinifer" is, no doubt, derived from Heb. and Chald. יַיִן *yaīn* "wine." Similarly, *Esta* is Syr. ܐܶܫܬܳܐ, Chald. אֶשְׁתָּא *ešṭā* "fire." But *Aretia* represents more nearly Arab. ارض *'ard* "earth," or اريض *'arīd* "good earth" than Heb. אֶרֶץ *erez*, for which there is no corresponding Syriac word. The Chaldaic derivatives are here, no doubt, due to an adherence to a Hebrew account of Noah. None of these words have survived in the Germanic languages, except Arab. ارض *'ard*. The Arabic word means "earth, ground," while ارضة *'irdah* means "abundant herbage, pasture," ارض اريض *'arīd*, *'arid* "land that is thriving, that collects moisture, and becomes luxuriant with herbage." The first datable occurrence of the word in European languages is in two documents of the year 788, where *harde* means "common pasture."[1] The oldest OHGerman forms are *herda*, *haerda*, *eratha* "earth, soil, humus." It is, therefore, very likely that OHG. *hirdi*, *hirti* "shepherd" is derived from *harde* "pasture." *Herta* "herd" is recorded only in Notker, and becomes popular only later. Apparently the Arabic word was applied specifically to pasture land, whence this development. OFrench records only *harde* "flock, herd," which shows once more the relation to this group. The Gothic has differentiated *airþa* "earth" from *hairda* "herd." The ASaxon has similarly *eard*, *eorþe*, *eorþ* "earth" and *heord* "flock, herd," but also *eorod*, *eored* "legion, troop."

[1] "Dono in pago salinense in marca gisoluinga iurnales XVI forastum unum et portionem meam de illa *harde*," C. Zeuss, *Traditiones possessionesque wizenburgenses*, Spirae 1842, pp. 200, 201.

The classical allusions in the Janus story are taken from a large number of sources, which may be discovered by looking in Forcellini under *Janus*, where "chaos, caelus, pacem habens," etc., will be found applied to him just as in Pseudo-Berosus. But to us is of special significance the fact that the chief source of the story is Ovid's *Fasti*, I.103 ff.:

"Me Chaos antiqui—nam sum res prisca—vocabant.
Aspice, quam longi temporis acta canam.
Lucidus hic aër et quae tria corpora restant,
Ignis, aquae, tellus, unus acervus erant."

Annius referred to this source.[1] He also pointed out the confusion of *Aretia* with the *Magna Mater*, *Cybele*,[2] a confusion which, as we shall see later, led the forger of the *Germania* to create a special deity for the Germans.

In the same III.5 we have another proof that Annius could not possibly have concocted the Pseudo-Berosus, who places in Armenia the cities, *Olybama*, *Arsa*, and *Ratha*. It is hard to tell where he got this job lot of cities, but fortunately he gives the etymologies of *Olybama* as "caelum" and of *Arsa* as "sol," which allows us to identify them. *Olybama* is given in Genesis, X.10, as a city in Edom, which Jerome etymologizes as "tabernaculum meum in aliquo uel tabernaculi altitudo," which apparently produced the mistake; for "caelum" could have had in the original only Arab. السما *'alsamā*, which, by mistaking it for اليبا in the texts which so frequently left off the dots, was read as *alibama*, producing *Olybama*. Similarly, *Arsa* is Arab. ارثة *'araṯah* "fire, flame."

[1] *Op. cit.*, fol. CIXb.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. CXVIa.

In V.32 *Deabus* was so called from the gold mines. This is Arab. ذهب *dzahab* "gold." Had the forger had in mind the Hebrew word, he would have written *Zahabus*, and not *Deabus*.

We can now investigate the important triad of the *Inguaeones*, *Istaevones*, and *Hermiones*, on whom so much of wrong history has been constructed. In Pseudo-Berosus the three are not mentioned as derived from three brothers. In the *Generatio regum et gentium*,[1] which is from *Codex Sangallensis 732* and belongs to the ninth century, we have the following genealogy:

"Primus rex Romanorum Alaneus dictus est.
Alaneus genuit Papulo.
Papulus genuit Egetium.
Egetius genuit Egegium.
Egegius genuit Siagrium.
per quem Romani regnum perdiderunt.
Tres fuerunt fratres,
Erminus Inguo et Istio frater eorum:
unde sunt gentes XII.
Erminus genuit
Gotos [Walagotus] Wandalus Gepedes et Saxones.
haec sunt gentes IV.
Inguo frater eorum genuit
Burgundiones Thoringus Langobardus Baioarius.
haec sunt gentes IV.
Istio frater eorum genuit
Romanos Brittones Francus Alamannus.
haec sunt gentes IV."

Later editions of this genealogy write for *Istio* also *Hisicio*, *Escio*, and for *Inguo* they write *Ingo*, *Tingus*, *Nigueo*. Besides, the order of the derived nations is rearranged. MS. *D* has "Armen genuit Gothos Guandalos Brjgjdos Saxones, Tingus genuit Tuscos et

[1] K. Muellenhoff, *Germania antiqua*, Berolini 1873, p. 163 f.

Longobardos Burgondiones Bajoarjos," while MS. *E*, which is from the *Codex Cavensis*, of the eleventh century, has "De Ermenone nate sunt generationes V. Gothi Uualagothi Cybedi Burgundio et Langobardos, de Nigueo nate sunt generationes quattuor, id est Uuandalos Saxones Baioarios et Toringus."

We have an older form of this genealogy in the *Historia Brittonum*, of which the oldest manuscript goes back to the ninth or tenth century. Here we read: "Primus homo venit ad Europam de genere Iafeth Alanus cum tribus filiis suis, quorum nomina sunt Hessitio, Armenon, Negue. Hessitio autem habuit filios quattuor: hi sunt Francus, Romanus, Britto, Albanus. Armenon autem habuit quinque filios: Gothus, Valagothus, Gebidus, Burgundus, Longobardus. Negue autem habuit tres filios: Vandalus, Saxo, Boguarus. ab Hisitione autem ortae sunt quattuor gentes Franci, Latini, Albani et Britti. ab Armenone autem quinque: Gothi, Valagothi, Gebidi, Burgundi, Longobardi. a Neguio vero quattuor Boguarii, Vandali, Saxones et Turingi. istae autem gentes subdivisae sunt per totam Europam."[1] This the *Nennius interpretatus* gives as follows: "Primus homo venit ad Europam de genere Iaphet Alanus cum tribus filiis suis, id est Isacon, Armenon et Negua. Isacon habuit filios quattuor: Francum, Romanum, Britum, Albanum. Armenon autem habuit quinque filios: Gotum, Uilegotum, Cebetum, Burgandum, Longobardum. tres fuerunt filii Neguae: Uandalus, Saxo, Boarus. a Saxone filio Neguae orti sunt Saxones."[2]

In spite of the discordant texts, it is clear that the genealogy meant to identify the Gothic peoples with *Hermino*, the Romans with *Istaevo*, and the Lango-

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XIII, p. 159 f.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

bards with *Inguaeo*. We have already seen from the *Hermanric* story how *Ahriman* has given the valiant warrior of the Goths of the north. *Istaevo* is written *Isaco* in the *Historia Brittonum*, and the other forms for this name show that *Isaco* or *Isco* must have been the original word. This allows us at once to derive the genealogy of the Romans and the Franks (the latter are also related to the Romans in Hunibald, as we shall later see) from an Arabic source.

Mas'ūdī[1] gives the following account of the origin of the Romans. "People do not agree as to the origin of the name of *Rūm*. Some say that it should be derived from the city of Rūm, which is called Rome in the language of that country. The name of this city has been Arabicized under the name of Rūm, but the people call themselves Romans in their language, and the neighboring nations do not call them otherwise. Others have thought that the name was that of the father of the people, namely Rūm, son of Samahlīq, son of Ḥeriān, son of 'Alqā, son of Esau, son of *Isaac*, son of Abraham, the friend of God. According to others, these people owe their name to the chief of their race, Rūm, son of Labt, son of *Yūnān*, son of Japheth, son of Ṣūnāh, son of Sarḥūn, son of Rūmīyah, son of Barbat, son of Tavfīl, son of Rūman, son of al-Aṣfar, son of al-Nafr, son of Esau, son of *Isaac*. There are still other systems in regard to this. . . . Esau had thirty sons. The last of the Rūms are the sons of al-Aṣfar, sons of al-Nafr, sons of Esau, sons of *Isaac*. This fact is established by a number of pre-Islamitic poets. It has been more especially advanced by 'Adi, son of Zaid al-'Abādī, when he says: 'The Benu'l-Aṣfar, these illustrious sovereigns of Rome, not one of them is left to be talked about.'"

[1] C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Maçoudi, Les prairies d'or*, Paris 1863, vol. II, chap. XXVIII, p. 293 ff.

Mas'ūdī says that these genealogies are based on the Thorah and the other Hebrew books.[1] This is correct, for the Romans were by the Jews identified with Edom, that is, with Esau, even as the Syrians derived the Romans from Esau and Isaac.[2]

If we turn to the *Generatio regum et gentium*, we observe that it is dealing with a genealogy which refers to the fall of the Roman empire under Siagrius, in 487. The last of the Romans disappear, and in their stead come the Britons, the Franks, and the Germans, who claim a relationship, at least politically, with the Romans, with whom they are classed. Hence the genealogy, made up in the eighth century, creates a common forefather for them, *Isaac*, who in the manuscripts becomes corrupted to *Istaevo*, *Istio*, etc. Now, who is *Inguaeo?* We have also the reading *Nigueo*, who in the *Historia Brittonum* is given as *Negue*. He appears as the eponymous hero of the Langobards and some other nations that are grouped around them. Here the Arabic genealogical science failed the forger, because the Arabs did not provide any genealogy for the nations lying so far outside their interest. And yet, it is again the Arabic that furnished the forger with an eponymous hero. Just as Arab. الّمان *'ālamān* "Alamannian" had led Pseudo-Berosus to create an eponymous hero, *Mannus*, so the *Langobards*, through an original form النغبرد *Alangobarḍ*, which is not used, led to the common form نوقبرد *nūqobarḍ*[3] "Langobard,"

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[2] "Et imperium postmodum in adventu suo tradidit Romanis, qui filii Esau vocati sunt, ipsi autem filii Esau imperium ei qui illud dedit adservant," *Patrologia syriaca*, pars prima, vol. I, col. 230 f.; "imperium dedit prius filiis Jacob, eisque submisit filios Esau, sicut Isaac ad Esau dixit; 'Jacob fratri tuo servies? Cumque in imperio haud prospere succederent, abstulit ab eis regnum, filiisque Esau dedit, donec veniet is cuius est,'" *ibid.*, col. 234.

[3] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 76.

which produced the eponymous hero, *Negue*, hence *Inguaeo*.

We have in Pliny the following passage: "Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, inmensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, inmanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia, inconpertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. . . . Germanorum genera quinque: Vandili, quorum pars Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones. alterum genus Inguaeones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes. proximi autem Rheno Istuaeones, quorum . . . . . mediterranei Hermiones, quorum Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. quinta pars Peucini, Basternae, supra dictis contermini Dacis."[1]

In the light of the above discussion it is obvious that we have here an eighth or ninth century interpolation. It will be observed that some manuscripts have a lacuna after "*Istuaeones* quorum." This is not accidental. The Burgundians and Gutones (apparently for the Goths) have been classed as Vandili, and, instead, Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, and Cherusci are mentioned as Hermiones, while Cimbri, Teutoni, and Chauci have been substituted for Burgundiones, Thoringi, Langobardi, Boiarii, whom Tacitus could not have known, as Inguaeones. Here it was easy enough to make the changes. But the interpolator was completely baffled about Romans, Britons, and Franks. Hence the best some manuscripts could do was to mention Cimbri as Hermiones, although they already appear as Inguaeones, while another manuscript repeats

[1] IV. 96, 99-100.

all three, Cimbri, Teutoni, and Chauci, as Hermiones. It will be observed that in IV.99 the Inguaeones are mentioned as a "genus," and in IV.96 as a "gens," which still further increases the confusion; and, to make matters still worse, Frisians and other Germanic tribes, among them the Chauci, who have already been located twice, appear in IV.101 outside of the classification. The blundering interpolation is too obvious to need much discussion.

Solinus (XX.1) repeats the first sentence from Pliny: "Mons Saevo ipse ingens nec Riphaeis minor collibus initium Germaniae facit. Inguaeones tenent, a quibus primis post Scythas nomen Germanicum consurgit." The quotation in Solinus is absurd. As we have no Solinus manuscripts before the ninth century, it is not possible to ascertain what really stood in Solinus, but it is significant that Isidore of Seville quotes the sentence immediately preceding and the sentence immediately following, while of the whole Germanic nomenclature in Pliny there is not a trace in any writer who quoted from Pliny or Solinus. We have, it is true, a quotation in Pomponius Mela, III.3, "in eo sunt Cimbri et Teutoni, ultra ultimi Germaniae Hermiones," which, by calling the Hermiones a people, and not a classification, and by locating them north of the Cimbri and Teutoni, shows that it is taken from a faulty manuscript of Pliny, where there was already a lacuna or a repetition. But Traube has long ago shown that Mela is interpolated.[1] I do not discuss the corresponding passage in Tacitus' *Germania*, because I shall analyze this silly forgery later on.

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Akademie*, 1891, p. 399.

HUNIBALD

The accusation of forgery against Trithemius in his account of the origin of the Franks has been best summarized by I. Silbernagl[1] as follows: "While Trithemius was working on the second part of his *Hirsau Annals*, he seems at the same time to have busied himself with the plan of a complete history of the Franks. For, according to a letter of 1515 to Bishop Laurentius of Bibra, to whom he dedicated the Compendium of the first volume of the Annals on the Origin of the Franks, and according to the introduction of said Compendium, Trithemius claims to have written three large volumes on the origin, progress, and particular deeds of the kings, princes, and people of the Franks. The first volume was from the year 440 B. C. up to 749 A. D., the second from 750 to 1265, and the third from 1266 to 1514. But in all probability Trithemius never elaborated this large historical work of the Franks. This is proved by the Compendium itself, which is not an excerpt from a finished work, but a compilation from existing, unfinished historical materials, even as Trithemius begins the second volume in the Compendium with the division of the Frankish Empire among the four sons of Chlodwig, and at the same time gives a list of the historical writers from whom he drew for the second and third volumes of his Annals. If, therefore, Bishop Julius of Würzburg observes that his predecessor Frederic has shown him the manuscript of this great historical work, which was kept in the castle, we can

[1] *Johannes Trithemius*, Regensburg 1885, p. 182 ff. (first edition, Landshut 1868, p. 188 ff.).

unquestionably understand by it nothing more than an unformed collection of material. Trithemius finished on November 20, 1514, the Compendium which he dedicated to Bishop Laurentius of Würzburg. We have also another Compendium, which announces itself as being an extract from the last twelve books of Hunibald, and contains a series of the Würzburg bishops. It is less well worked out than the first, but goes to the year 850, that is, up to the division of Gaul and Germany. This circumstance, in conjunction with the genealogy of the house of Habsburg from the Frankish King Guntram and with the remark at the end that Maximilian should not be called the Roman King, but the King of the Germans, since the kingdom belonged to the Germans and was not in need of a papal confirmation, like the Roman Empire, seems to indicate that this Compendium, which was also written in 1514, was intended for Emperor Maximilian, who, as we already know, used to honor Trithemius with scientific orders.

"If we look at the sources which Trithemius used for his two Compendia, we at the start meet with an old Frankish historian, by the name of Hunibald, on whom the whole history of the Franks from its origin to Chlodwig is based. This substantial chronographer, according to Trithemius, lived in the time of Chlodwig and wrote his eighteen books on the basis of Dorac, Wasthald, and others. In the first six books he treats the origin of the Franks from the fall of Troy up to the death of Antenor (440 B. C.), in the following six books, the history of the Franks from Antenor to Pharamund (419 A. D.), and in the last six, from Pharamund to Chlodwig. Hunibald's chronicle ends with the death of Chlodwig, which Trithemius, like Sigebert of Gembloux, places in 514. Hunibald himself wrote his history on the basis of that of

the Scythian or Sigambrian Wasthald, who had written a history of the Franks from the fall of Troy up to the death of King Marcomir (412 B. C.), then from the deeds of the Frankish heroes by Heligast, from the sage Amerodac, at about 248 B. C., from the poem of Pontifex Arebald about the deeds of King Ratherus (+89 B. C.), from the biography of King Richimer (+113 A. D.), from the seer Ruthwic, from Dorac, who flourished about 130 A. D. and wrote a history of his people in verse, and, at last, from Hildegast, who celebrated the deeds of King Sunno (+213 A. D.) in German. Such are the statements of Trithemius, besides whom no one ever heard of a historian Hunibald. Görres, in his disquisition on Hunibald (Schlegel's *Museum*, vols. III & IV), concludes from the words of Count Hermann of Nuenar, 'I assume that an expert has taken some things from Hunibald, and that, too, without order or judgment, and has placed it in a book, as it is now found in various writers,' that the count had Hunibald himself before him, whereas Count Nuenar only speaks of the Latin of Hunibald, as found in Trithemius and other historians who followed him, which he rejects as too barbarous for the time of Hunibald. For the same reason the contemporaries of Trithemius declared Hunibald to be a myth, independently of the fact that there were other causes for doubting its genuineness. And if, in spite of this, Görres, Phillips, in his German History, Mone, in his History of Paganism in Northern Europe, and Türk, in his Critical History of the Franks, want to maintain the genuineness of Hunibald as a source, we shall oppose to them the testimony of Trithemius himself, who in the sixth book of his *Polygraphia* considers the work of Hunibald as a fiction. This much is certain: Hunibald's History of the origin of the Franks is a forgery, and the only question is

whether Trithemius was deceived by some one else who ascribed these forged Annals to Hunibald or whether he himself concocted this Hunibald. This latter fact is not admitted by those who otherwise recognize the mythical element in Hunibald. Yet there are important reasons for it. In the first place, the arbitrary changes made by Trithemius in the history of his Hunibald. According to the Compendium and also the *Annales Hirsaugienses*, the Franks came to Germany in 439 B. C., whereas Johannes Stabius, who, in matters of Hunibald, was, at the request of Peutinger, sent by Emperor Maximilian to Würzburg, declares that in St. James Abbey in Würzburg it was stated on the wall of the sundial, about the portraits of the Frankish princes, that the Franks arrived in Germany after the death of their prince, Priam, in the year 380 A. D., as we read in Sigebert of Gembloux, Geoffrey of Viterbo, and others. And, in the letter which Trithemius on April 21, 1513, sent to the Emperor by the Herald of Geldern, John of Cologne, he makes Hunibald continue the history of Wisogastalth, who came to Thuringia with the princes Marcomedes and Sunno and there described the deeds of the Franks up to the sixth year of King Pharamund. Out of Wasthald of the Compendium and of the *Annales Hirsaugienses* is made here Wisogastalth, who writes the history of the Franks, not up to 412 B. C., like Wasthald, but up to 425 A. D. Outside of other variations, the two Compendia do not agree as to the dates of reign of the Frankish kings from Chlodomir, who, according to the first Compendium, dies in 230 B. C., according to the second, in 222 B. C., up to King Hilderich (+484 A. D.). Again, according to the second Compendium, Wasthald wrote the first twelve books of Hunibald, which rather agrees with the work of Wisogastalth, while according to the first

Compendium and the *Annales Hirsaugienses*, only the first six are by Wasthald, from whom Trithemius took nothing into the *Annales Hirsaugienses*, because he did not have the codex at hand. But from the other twelve books he claims to have made extracts sixteen years before. It must be kept in mind that Trithemius, according to his letter to Emperor Maximilian, drew for his history of the Franks on the basis of Hunibald, partly from excerpts and partly from memory, that, *therefore, he had no codex.* Emperor Maximilian wished to obtain from Trithemius the codex of Hunibald, and for this purpose sent the Herald of Geldern to him. Trithemius gave to one of his monks a sheet of paper on which there was a description of various chronicles, among them that of Hunibald, and sent him at first to Mayence and then to Spanheim, in order to make a search for Hunibald. Meanwhile there came an imperial official to Trithemius, who at once handed him a letter to the Emperor, in which he informed him that if Hunibald could not be found at Spanheim, it should be looked for at Hirsau, since his successor at Spanheim had sold several volumes to the Abbot of Hirsau. 'I know,' wrote Trithemius, 'the manner of the bibliophiles, especially of the monks who, if they are not properly denunciated, not to say surrounded, do not like to communicate their books to the mighty. If the Diet of Worms will express itself with vigor, I shall perhaps do my utmost to find the captive Hunibald, which I left behind in April, 1503, at Spanheim, with two thousand other books.' And on November 22, 1515, Trithemius wrote to the Emperor, 'As you commanded me, I went in person to Spanheim, in order to find Hunibald, but I did not find it. I presume that the book was sold with others for a consideration. I went to the abbey and made a careful examination, but I could not see the

library, because I was told that it had disappeared.' But where is the old codex of Hunibald which Trithemius had in hand when he wrote the *Polygraphia* at Würzburg? Who does not observe from these letters in what embarrassment Trithemius was placed by the Emperor's desire to get possession of Hunibald? In Spanheim Trithemius knows as yet nothing of a Hunibald, and in the *Chronicon Hirsaugiense*, which he left behind unfinished in Spanheim, there is not the slightest reference to Hunibald's History of the Franks in connection with his mention of Rudolf of Habsburg. Trithemius made its acquaintance first at Würzburg, and after the composition of the *Annales Hirsaugienses* he recanted, in a letter to Nicholas Basellius and under the influence of the History of the Franks, his former view of the German Kingdom and the Roman Empire. How is it? Trithemius did not get the codex of Hunibald, if it really was at Spanheim? Did he not immediately ask his friend John Damius to buy up the Greek codices and books for him, when he learned that the Abbot of Bursfeld during the visitation had ordered their sale? Could he then not have obtained Hunibald, which to him was such an important source? But Trithemius possessed Hunibald only in paper excerpts, which, indeed, were found at Würzburg after Trithemius' death by Stabius, and where Hunibald's History was frequently changed, and he also carried them in his mind, wherefore he was unable to give a good account of Hunibald's codex in the description given to the monk, although he described the other codices. What else can be concluded from all this but that the whole history of the Franks originated in Trithemius' head? We are ready to admit, with Görres, that Trithemius had no special genius, no great inventive spirit for a large, consistent forgery, but he did not need any in this particular case. The

myth of the Trojan origin of the Franks had been told long ago by the oldest historians, Gregory of Tours, Regino, Otto of Freising, Geoffrey of Viterbo, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Aeneas Sylvius, and others, and Trithemius merely expanded them by making the Franks or Sigambrians appear in Germany eight hundred years earlier and inventing the necessary dynasty up to the time of Emperor Valentinian. His knowledge of many old chronicles and his constant occupation with historical works had given him a certain dexterity in the presentation of historical events, even as Gervinus remarks that in Hunibald's History much is fashioned after the *Getica* of Jordanes, which Trithemius unquestionably knew."

Hardly a statement made by Silbernagl in proof of a forgery committed by Trithemius is correct. Silbernagl says, in a footnote, that Trithemius in his *Polygraphia*, written in 1507, confessed that he was tricking his readers, because he wrote, "The old codex could hardly be read, wherefore I am afraid that I have been rather deceived by a forger (von irgend einem Fälscher getäuscht worden zu sein) than to have found Hunibald's true and certain opinion. Be it as it may, if it is Hunibald's true account, I have written well, but if it is somebody's fiction, it will neither hurt me, nor do the reader any wrong."[1] As a matter of fact, Silbernagl gives the Latin version of the passage in the first edition (p. 191), where, however, there is no reference to a forger, but to an interpolator. To make matters worse, Silbernagl consciously perverts the facts in the case by quoting one sentence out of its context. In the *Polygraphia*[2] Trithemius gives an

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[2] I was able to procure only a late edition of this extremely valuable work for the determination of the origin of the Gothic and Runic writings, namely, the one entitled, *Ioannis Trithemii abbatis Peapolitani quondam Spanheymensis ad Maximilianum I Caes. Libri Polygraphiae VI*, Argentinae 1600.

alphabet, ascribed to Wasthald, which he recognizes at once to be of Greek origin, but finding some letters made quite differently from what they are in Greek, he exclaims: "If I have not been deceived by the copyist's blunders, I think I have given a fairly correct copy of the alphabet, in which some characters differ totally from the Greek, while others seem partly to be assimilated to them. I do not know what to think of its inventor, because, although he did not keep the forms of the Greek letters, he none the less preserved their order. The Codex was very frail from old age and could hardly be read, hence I am afraid that I have rather been deceived by some interpolator than that I found Hunibald's true opinion. But let us pass to what remains, for, if it is Hunibald's true statement, it is written well by me, but if it is somebody's fiction, it cannot hurt me nor do any injury to any reader."[1] Trithemius does not raise any doubt about the authorship of the work, but only about the authenticity of the particular alphabet. This only gives evidence of his critical spirit and intellectual honesty, and does him honor. Besides, how could he foresee in 1507 that after 1515 doubt would be raised in regard to what he wrote in 1514?

Silbernagl accuses Trithemius of weakmindedness, because he contradicted himself several times in regard to the number of books that Wasthald wrote and to the period which he covered. Here, again, Silbernagl perverts the truth, or, rather, repeats older

[1] "Nisi vitium scriptoris me deceperit Vuastaldi alphabetum conuenienter arbitror effigaui, in quo aliqui characteres a Graecis penitus discrepant, nonnulli etiam partim eis assimilari videntur. Nescio tamen quid iudicem, inuentor eorum quisquis fuerit, quanquam formam Graecarum non tenuerit, ordinem tamen literarum obseruauit. Codex nimis uetustate caducus vix poterat legi, unde me vereor deceptum potius ab aliquo intersertore quam Hunibaldi veram et certam reperisse sententiam. Sed transeamus ad illa quae restant, quoniam si vera est Hunibaldi positio, bene scriptum a nobis fuerit, sin autem fictio cuiuspiam est, neque nobis officiet, neque iniuriam facit lectori."

authorities without having taken the trouble to look up the matter in Trithemius' works. Early in 1513, or a year before he even thought of writing the History of the Franks, Emperor Maximilian, who had heard from him of the precious volume of Hunibald, was anxious to acquire it. Unfortunately, Trithemius had left Spanheim Abbey before 1506, abandoning his whole magnificent library. He did not know what had become of his books, but he was only too glad to give the Emperor all the information in his possession. So, on April 21, 1513, he wrote to him, saying that, as far as he remembered, the name of the author of the *Origin and Deeds of the Franks* was Hunibald. Then he proceeded to give a brief account of the contents of the book, and mentioned the fact that Wisogastalth had described the deeds of the Franks up to the time of Marcomedes and Sunno, and that Wisogastalth, the historiographer of the Franks, and Salagast, the legislator, had great authority among the Franks. Trithemius ends the letter by saying that he had made extracts from Hunibald's book and otherwise remembered some other facts from it.[1]

[1] "De origine et gestis Francorum decem et octo libros Parciales in uno volumine, si recte memini, scripsit Hunibald. Francus tempore Clodouei regis Francorum in Germania et Gallia quinti, Primus enim fuit in theutonia circa Wirtzburg electus pharamundus filius Marcomedis ducis qui populum de Sarmacia cum Sunnone ad thuringiam eduxerat, Secundus Clodius crinitus Tercius meroueus Quartus Hilderich Quintus Clodoueus Sextus Theodorich Septimus Clotharius, quo mortuo filij eius Regnum diuiserunt inter se partibus quinque, videlicet Herberth Helperich, Guntram, Sigeberth et Odeberth. In ea divisione regni Odebert Alsaciam Burgundiam superioremque cisrenane Prouincie partem in porcionem accepit cum adiacentibus, Hic Odebert quatuor filios reliquit Arbogist Odoberth, Gunthram et Vuernher. Verum diuisio regno facti sunt Comites et duces ex his Odeberth iam dictus Comes primus fuit in Habspurg sed nunc propositum sequamur. Auctor memoratus Hunibald historiam usque ad annum regis Francorum clodouei vicesimum quartum deduxit, incipiens a sexto anno Pharamundi regis primi vbi historiam Francorum Wisogastalth moriens terminavit. Vuisogastalt cum Marcomede et Sunnone ducibus ex Sarmacia sycambrorum in Thuringiam veniens originem, duces, clades et gesta Francorum ab exitu troyanorum secutus precedentes breviter descripsit. Quem Hunibald sequutus historiam ut diximus continuavit. Vuisogastaldt Francorum Historiographus et a Secretis fuit Salagast legislator. Ambo philosophi,

Silbernagl accuses Trithemius of having changed the name of Wasthald of the *Compendium* and the *Annales Hirsaugienses* to Wisogastalth, and he says that Wasthald wrote the history of the Franks up to 412 B. C., whereas Wisogastalth continued it to 425 A. D. Besides, according to the second Compendium Wasthald wrote twelve books, while according to the first Compendium and the *Annales Hirsaugienses* Wasthald wrote only the first six, says Silbernagl. Now the facts are these:

Trithemius in the *Annales Hirsaugienses*,[1] indeed, speaks of six books (of Wasthald), but he distinctly says that they cover a period of 750 years. A few lines further down he speaks of six books of Hunibald, covering a period of 405 years, and six more, covering 109 years.[2] Trithemius says distinctly that he did not have the codex at hand, having left it at Spanheim, and that he had made an excerpt of the last twelve books some sixteen years before, and now would give a list of the kings, without elaborating upon their deeds.[3] The *Annales Hirsaugienses*, according to the Colophon, were begun in 1509 and finished in 1514. It is, therefore, clear from his own statements that he drew for the brief account either on his memory or from his written abstract.

ambo sapientes et magne apud Francos Auctoritatis teste Hunibaldo. . . . . Hec et alia multa memoratu dignissima in predicto volumine brevi et lucida narratione continentur e quibus ego quedam in scedis nonnulla vero in memoria teneo locata," J. Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, Wien 1840, vol. I, p. 318 f.

[1] St. Gall 1690, vol. II, p. 22.

[2] "Nam primi sex libri memorati Auctoris Hunibaldi continent historiam annorum DCCL. . . . . In aliis sex Hunibaldi libris historia continetur annorum CCCCV. . . . porro in ultimis Hunibaldi sex libris historia continetur annorum CIX."

[3] "Porro quot hujus gentis fuerint Reges a primo Duce, cum quo exierunt a Troja, primis Hunibaldi sex libris a Wasthaldo conscriptis habetur, de quibus nos hac vice non intromittimus, quia Codicem in Sphanheim dimissum ad manum non habemus. Ex alijs duodecim Hunibaldi libris, quae ante sedecim annos nos excepimus, breviter et compendiose his Annalibus inserenda censemus, sola Regum nomina, tempora et annos quibus regnarunt, gesta eorum praetereuntes," *ibid.*, p. 23.

In 1514 Trithemius wrote the *Compendium* and *De origine gentis Francorum.* In the *Compendium* he states that he follows the compilation of Hunibald, who about the year 500 wrote a history, using as sources Dorac, Wasthald, and others. The division in books is the same as in the *Annales Hirsaugienses.*[1] It is only natural that, not having the codex at hand, he should not have remembered the precise obligation to Wasthald as regards the number of books ascribed to him. He distinctly states that Wasthald covered a period of approximately 758 years,[2] that is, we have the identical statement as in the *Annales Hirsaugienses.* Absolutely the same statement, except for slight variations in dates, is made in the *De origine,*[3] but the title of this latter work speaks of Wasthald as

[1] "Scio multos de origine Francorum et varie et diuersa scripsisse, quorum nonnulli gentem contendunt indigenam, caeteri vero nescio de qua Sicambrorum vrbe aduentitiam. Quorum diuersas opiniones neminem posse vel discernere vel concordare credimus, quem Hunibaldi compilatio non illustrat. Is etenim solidus Francorum historiographus claruit in humanis Clodouei regis, quem sanctus Remigius praesul Romanorum baptizauit, temporibus, anno dominicae natiuitatis quingentesimo; et scripsit post Doracum philosophum, Wasthaldum historicum, et alios plures rerum gestarum antiquissimos scriptores insigne opus, quod in libros decem et octo distinxit. In sex primis, gentis Francorum primaeuam deducit originem ab excidio Troiano vsque ad mortem Antenoris regis, quem Scanziani, Gothi, Suecique siue Suedi, circa Danubij ostia interfecerunt, anno videlicet ante Christi natiuitatem quadringentesimo quadragesimo. In aliis vero sex libris, tempus complectitur ab interitu regis Antenoris memorati, vsque ad Faramundum regem Francorum, secundi ordinis quadragesimum tertium. A Faramundo reliqui sex libri continuantur vsque ad vltimum annum Clodouei primi ex regibus Francorum christiani, qui obiit anno dominicae natiuitatis quingentesimo quartodecimo. Et quia de omnibus his in primo volumine annalium nostrorum latius scripsimus, ratio nominis Breuiarij postulat, vt istic breuitati studeamus," Trithemius, *Opera Historica*, Francofurti 1601, p. 2.

[2] "Vsque in hunc annum Wasthald Scytha, siue Sicamber, patrio sermone, historiarum opus gentis suae deduxit, per annos plus minus D. CC. LVIII," *ibid.*, p. 4.

[3] "Ad hunc annum Wasthaldus duodecim libros suos, de origine Sicambrorum; ab excidio Troiano perduxit, atque compleuit per annos continuando, DCCLXVIII. Ab hinc Hunibald, in sex libris historiam, de regibus et gestis Sicambrorum continuat per annos, DCCCCXXX. vsque ad obitum Clodouei regis magni," *ibid.*, p. 64.

having written the first twelve books.[1] Here, then, we have an agreement with the letter to Emperor Maximilian, except that Wasthald is changed to Wisogastalth. Did Trithemius bungle matters? Was he such a reckless forger as to give himself away so easily? Obviously not. The confusion arose in his mind because Wisogastalth and Wesogast and Gasthald are given at the end of the next six books as important legislators, and Wesogast is mentioned as one of those who wrote the Salic laws. The same confusion in names is found in the case of another legislator, who is mentioned as Salogasthald and as Salogast. From this confusion of names Trithemius, who professedly had not the codex before him, in the letter to the Emperor ascribed the history to the great legislator, instead of to Hunibald. But he distinctly says that Hunibald composed this work from the songs of the flamens, and, if so, Wisogastalth, or Wesogast, may have been one of the sources quoted by Hunibald. In no case does Trithemius claim to give an account from Wasthald, but only from Hunibald's compilation. It is in the last six books that Hunibald was supposed to speak from his own experience, and thus there is no contradiction on any point brought forward by Trithemius. Indeed, his assertion that he had made extracts from Hunibald's book is only corroborated by Stabius, who made an investigation of the case and from the start assumed an inimical attitude towards him, for he actually found, after Trithemius' death, excerpts from Hunibald, with many changes by Trithemius.[2]

Now, it is true that on the sundial Trithemius said that the Franks arrived from Sarmatia in Germany

[1] "Ex duodecim ultimis Hunibaldi libris, quorum sex primos Wasthaldus conscripsit," *ibid.*, p. 63.

[2] *Vita Trithemii*, in M. Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei literariae Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Augustae Vind. et Herbipoli 1754, vol. III, p. 328.

in the year 380 A. D.,[1] and he similarly mentioned the fact in his letter to Emperor Maximilian. But both these statements were made before the year 1514, when he for the first time quoted from Hunibald. He merely depended on his memory in these cases and on the usual statement in the histories. But when he looked up his notes, which, according to his statement,[2] he had written up in 1498, he found that he had confused Wasthald with Wisogast, and that a correction was necessary. This he noticed only after the second volume of the *Annales Hirsaugienses* was written, that is, in 1514, wherefore he tore out two quaternions and substituted the two in which the history of the Franks was given from Hunibald. He, therefore, in a letter to Nicholas Basellius, attached to the second volume of the *Annales*, begged him before publication to correct throughout the work all those mistakes which arose from this misconception and which were due to his confessed blundering.[3] This letter was written April 12, 1514.

[1] Chmel, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[2] See note on p.

[3] "In huius autem secundi Voluminis principio Rudolphus de Habspurg quondam Rex Germanorum occasionem dedit, quod originem gentis Francorum altius quam volui repetere, sum compulsus. Cuius rei gratia primos duos quaterniones, quos scripseram, necessario abieci; propterea, quod communem secutus opinionem cum pluribus erraveram, qui Francos temporibus Valentiniani Caesaris (nescio unde) primum in Germaniam venisse somniarunt: cum ex multis constet auctoribus, illos diu ante Sicambros dictos circa Rheni fluminis ostia (ubi nunc sunt Hollandij, Frisij, et Geldrij) sedes habuisse. Quod autem prius dicti fuerint Sicambri quam Franci, S. Remigius innuit: qui baptizando Regi Francorum Clodoveo dixit: Mitis depone colla Sicamber. Adora quod incendis: incende quod adorasti. Alios ergo in locum priorum quaterniones duos reposui: in quibus Hunibaldum secutus, veram originem Francorum breviter descripsi. Hinc factum est, quod mihi apud plures iuste videbor contrarius: qui et in primo Volumine, et in secundo (per inscitiam meam, fateor) saepius Regem Germaniae (satis imperite) nominavi Romanorum, ac Regni Vrbes dixi praeter debitum imperiales: quod tamen non debere fieri manifestum est omnibus intelligentibus et Regni, et Imperij originem ac rationem. Item cum sit usus Curiae Romanae, nullam sine Cathedra Pontificali scribere Civitatem, errasse me fateor, quoties Nürenberg, Franckefort, Vlmam, vel quodcunque aliud oppidum (ubi non est Sedes Episcopalis) civitatem nuncupavi; quanquam eorundem incolas non loci, sed Regni cives dicere

Stabius discredits Trithemius by saying that he was unable to give a description of the volume of Hunibald when Emperor Maximilian asked for it. That is quite untrue. He described the volume in detail,[1] as much as anyone could have done after the lapse of nine years and after having made extracts from it fifteen years before. It is doubtful whether anyone could have given a better description after so many years.

If we now arrange the information in regard to Hunibald in chronological order, we get the following:

1507. Trithemius, in his *Polygraphia*,[2] refers to Pharamund as the forty-third king and Clodius as the forty-fourth king after Marcomerus. He gives an alphabet of the ancient Germans (to judge from the reference in Silbernagl, by Wasthald) and another alphabet invented by Dorac. Obviously Trithemius, who at that time did not even think of a History of the Franks, was quoting from Hunibald's History.[3]

potuerim. His te propterea monuerim, ut si olim rescribenda fuerint haec ipsa volumina, errorem corrigas: Regem Germanis: Imperium Romanis adscribas: Vrbesque et Civitates Germaniae liberas, non Imperiales, sed Regales potius nuncupandas fore intelligas. Haec si volueris errata, citius emendabis," *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

[1] "Hunibaldus de origine et gestis Francorum in pergameno arctus forme est volumen et si recte memini albo corio porcino coopertum sunt libri parciales octodecim ut puto," Chmel, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[2] Unfortunately the Latin edition of 1518 is not accessible to me, and I quote from the corrupt edition of 1561.

[3] Silbernagl's accusation that Trithemius might have bought up Hunibald, as he did try to buy his Greek codices in Spanheim, is absurd, because Trithemius ordered Damius to buy up the Greek books, which the Abbot of Bursfeld, during his visitation at Spanheim, commanded to be sold. Trithemius specifically says that he would greatly have preferred the books to remain at Spanheim, but since the abbot had taken a dislike to the *Greek books*, he wished Damius to buy them up, in order to save their destruction or dispersion. In the same letter he mentions that the Spanheim library contained works in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldaic, Arabic, Indian, Ruthenian, and Tartar. (*Epistolae familiares*, lib. II, XLVII, in Trithemius' *Opera historica*, ed. of 1601, part II, p. 559). Silbernagl might just as well have claimed that no such foreign books existed, because Damius was not ordered to buy them for Trithemius.

April 21, 1513. Trithemius gives Emperor Maximilian his aid in trying to obtain the volume of Hunibald which was left behind at Spanheim in 1506.
April 26, 1513. Trithemius has just learned[1] that his successor in Spanheim had sold several books to the Abbot of Hirsau, and that a careful inquiry should be instituted there.
April 21, 1514. Trithemius, inspecting his notes on Hunibald, tears out two quaternions from his manuscripts of the *Annales Hirsaugienses* and corrects the history of the Franks according to Hunibald.

His *De origine gentis Francorum* was begun about the same time. In its title and in the text, Wasthald is accredited with the second set of six books, but it is evident that he now is no longer supposed to have written up to the reign of Marcomedes, as in the letter to Emperor Maximilian, but only up to Marcomirus, who died in 410 B. C. Obviously Trithemius recognized, when he looked at his notes, that he was not justified in identifying Wasthald with Wisogasthald, as he had done from memory in writing to the Emperor. He now assumed from his incomplete notes that he had made a mistake in accrediting Wasthald with the work of Wisogasthald, and that, although the twelve books were all by or from Wasthald, Wisogasthald had nothing whatsoever to do with it. In the same year appeared his *Compendium*, which agrees with the *De origine* in all particulars.

Trithemius' mistake consisted, when quoting from memory, in confusing Wasthald and Wisogasthald, because he had professedly not made any excerpts from the first six books, and because the second set of six books was really Wasthald's. Assuming that these six books were the first six books of the eighteen, he could not help mistaking Wasthald and Wisogast-

[1] Chmel, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

hald, the latter of whom belonged to the end of the next period touched upon. As soon as he noticed his mistake, he properly ascribed the first twelve books to Wasthald, *but in every case, after the off-hand letter to the Emperor, he accredited Wasthald only with the period for which he had no notes.*

Taking his statements chronologically, Trithemius looms up as a man of scrupulous veracity, who would not, for the sake of uniformity, abide by an involuntary blunder, even though he might have passed undetected, and who dared to confess his mistake, no matter what the consequences would be. All the caviling of Stabius is of no avail. Of course, Hunibald was a forgery, but it was not Trithemius' forgery. We shall see later that it belongs to the eighth century. But Trithemius did not possess the critical acuteness, nor did anyone else in his time, to observe that Hunibald was no other than the one who supplied the so-called Fredegar's Chronicle, *The Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Vita Sancti Columbani*, and Paulus Diaconus with apocryphal matter, and in his credulity he actually believed he had before him a work of the fifth century. Besides, Trithemius does not give us a translation of Hunibald, but a compendium of history, based chiefly on Hunibald, hence it would be dangerous to accept Trithemius' works as substitutes for the first. But, with proper caution, it is possible to ascertain what Hunibald really did say. It is only a pity that Trithemius exercised a critical spirit in dealing with that work and cut out all fabulous material, because it is precisely the latter that has been preserved by the writers of the eighth century, and not the historical material.

It is possible to prove the genuineness of Hunibald, as an author long preceding Trithemius, by a number of statements contained in Trithemius' excerpts. In

his *Polygraphia* he gives an ancient alphabet of the Germans. Here the order and the letters are obviously Greek. Unfortunately, as Trithemius himself informs us, the alphabet was almost illegible in the codex, but even as it is, we may see at a glance that we have here the Gothic alphabet. Some of the letters seem to be turned around sideways, but some are characteristically Gothic. We have *b* , which corresponds well to Goth. ; Gr. *η* is represented by , which gives rise to Goth. (*h*); *th* is represented by , which at once explains the form , which it assumes in Gothic; *i* is given as , which explains Goth. ; *ph* is rendered by , which gives Goth. ; *y* is given inverted as , which probably explains Goth. (*u*).

That is not a mere coincidence. Not a single one of the many other alphabets given by Trithemius admits even distantly any identification with the Gothic, or with any known alphabet, and the first inkling of a Gothic alphabet was had only half a century later. Consequently it is beyond a shadow of a doubt that Trithemius actually found the alphabet in Hunibald. Unfortunately, Trithemius has not preserved for us any part of Wasthald's books, so it is not possible to ascertain the reason for the formation of a Greek alphabet for the ancient Germanic, but there are enough indications left to show why it was chosen for the Gothic language.

In the days of King Priam, in the middle of the fourth century B. C., Trithemius says there was a priest Theocalus, who was versed in Greek, Scythian, and German, and was chosen pontifex of Jove by the Sicambrians. At that time the priests used the Greek language in their holy places. There had been no temples, and the priests sacrificed in groves, under

leafy trees. Only then a temple was built, and here Theocalus taught the children of the nobles, prophesied the future to the people and sang the deeds of the kings, which the youths were obliged to learn by heart and to sing on festive days. In certain seasons the priests did not live in the cities, but in the solitude, where they ate little and taught the course of the stars and ancient history.[1]

One recognizes here at a glance Caesar's description of the Druids in the *Commentaries*, VI. 13 ff. But Trithemius could not possibly have transferred such a description of the Gallic priests to the Germans, if he had not found the transformation elsewhere. Now Tacitus, or, to speak more correctly, Pseudo-Tacitus,[2] has consistently transferred the description of the Gauls to that of the Germans, in order to harmonize the Gallic and Germanic sides of the Franks. In the *Germania* the account of the Druids is found scattered in various chapters. In chapter VII we are told that no one among the Germans dared to punish criminals except the priests, as the crime was considered one

[1] "Anno Priami regis sexto, mortuus est Marcomir dux, qui nepos fuit primi Sunnonis, de quo supra dictum est, quod cum aliis ducibus gentem perduxerit in Germaniam. Hic inter multos liberos, filium habuit vnum, nomine Theocalum, virum in omni sapientia Graecorum, Scytharum, et Germanorum praestantissimum, quem Sicambri magnum Iouis pontificem constituerunt: et erat illis antistes, parens, augur, et vates. Vtebantur autem sacerdotes Graeco sermone in sacris multo tempore, nec alterius linguae commixtionem admittebant. Templa deorum vsque ad illud tempus non habuerunt, sed immolabant numinibus suis sub certis frondosis arboribus; quas iudicio praecedente sacerdotes consecrauerant. . . . Templum quoque in eadem vrbe Neomago Ioui constituerunt magnum atque fortissimum, in quo Theocalus pontifex cum sacerdotibus habitans, filios principum atque nobilium in moribus et scientia instituit, vaticinia populo dixit, regum fortiter acta carminibus scripsit, quae iuuentus memoriter discere compulsa, diebus festis canere in templo consueuit. Certis tamen anni temporibus, non in vrbibus, sed in solitudine, commorabantur sacerdotes, quibus et cibus erat parcus, et ingenij exercitatio ad discendum cursus astrorum, carminaque et veterum historias continua," Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 5 f.

[2] See p. 324 ff.

against the gods. This is a paraphrase of the judicial duties of the Druids in Caesar:

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum; non quasi in poenam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt, *Germ.*, VII.	Illi rebus diuinis intersunt . . Nam fere de omnibus controuersiis publicis priuatisque constituunt, et, si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, de finibus controuersia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt. . . Huc omnes undique, qui controuersias habent, conueniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent, *Comm.*, VI. 13.

The commentators, who have not even dreamed of this transference from the account of the Gauls to that of the Germans, have in despair given up the job of harmonizing the statement in Tacitus with the specific assertion in Caesar, VI. 23, that the kings had the power of life and death over their subjects.[1] Chapter IX in Tacitus is similarly cribbed out of Caesar, VI. 16 and 17:

Tacitus.	Caesar.
I. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt.	Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, VI. 17.
II. Cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent.	Qui sunt adfecti grauioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque uersantur, aut pro uictimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos uouent, VI. 16.
Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant.	Martem bella regere. Huic, cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea quae bello ceperint, plerumque deuouent: cum superauerunt, animalia capta immolant, VI. 17.
III. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur.	Alii inmani magnitudine simulacra habent, VI. 16.

[1] A. Baumstark, *Ausführliche Erläuterung des allgemeinen Theiles der Germania des Tacitus*, Leipzig 1875, p. 364 f.

The reference to Mercury is so clearly taken out of Caesar, down to the very phraseology, that no further discussion would be necessary. But here the perversity of scholars is so marked that I shall go over the matter in detail. Baumstark[1] claims that Caesar was the first to have mentioned German gods, that Mercury, Mars, and Hercules were named as such by Tacitus in his *Annales* and *Historiae*, and that Jordanes, Paulus Diaconus, Jonas of Bobbio, and Gregory of Tours gave the names of Germanic divinities. Jordanes I have already discussed, and Paulus Diaconus and Jonas of Bobbio I shall discuss at another time. Gregory of Tours may be dismissed with a few words. He does not mention any German gods, for in II. 29 he gives only a stereotyped account of Roman divinities as an example of idols. He tells of Saturn, who was to be deposed by his son, Jupiter, who lived in incest, and Mars and Mercury, who were given to magic arts. There is not even a trace of German gods here. Caesar similarly says distinctly (VI. 21) that the Germans have only the visible sun, fire, and moon as gods, and that of the rest they have not even heard by report. This, then, leaves Tacitus all alone.

Tacitus, in his *Historiae*, IV. 64, makes a messenger of the Tencteri, in a speech, thank the common gods, and especially Mars. This is merely a general phrase which tells nothing of the Germanic gods, any more than the statement of Procopius, in his *De bello gothico*, II. 15, "*τὸν Ἄρη θεὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον.*" In either case, we have only a reference to the fighting propensities of the Germans. In *Annales*, XIII. 57 we have a distinct reference to a sacrifice in men and horses to Mars and Mercury,[2] but this is obviously a mistake in judgment by Tacitus, who remembered

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[2] "Victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo voto equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur."

the passage in Caesar, VI. 17, where the reference is to the Gauls. It will be seen later that several passages in the *Germania* are based on Tacitus' *Historiae*, and possibly *Annales*. It is most likely, therefore, that the forger confused the account of the Germans and the Gauls, because he found it so in Tacitus. In *Annales*, II. 12, Tacitus speaks of the meeting of Germans in a forest sacred to Hercules. It is impossible to assert that Hercules is here a German divinity, because there were along the Rhine several localities named after the Roman Hercules.

We are thus left with a few vague references, and only in Tacitus, from whom the forger drew his statements.[1] The fatal coincidence in wording, *Deorum* (so also in some texts of Caesar) *maxime Mercurium colunt*, shows that we have here a transference from Gaul to Germany, which cannot be met by any argument to the contrary.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. nigra scuta, tincta corpora. atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur, *Germ.*, XLIII.	Ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili uirtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant (saepenumero sese cum his congressos ne uultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse), I. 39.

Ariovistus gave rise to the soldiers of the *Arii*, who, to produce a still more startling effect than told by Caesar, painted their shields and bodies black and

[1] P. Hochart (*De l'authenticité des Annales et des Histoires de Tacite*, Paris 1890), is unquestionably mistaken in his assumption that Poggio Bracciolini forged the *Historiae* and *Annales*, because the *Germania* was written before 851 and is based on them. But, to say the least, the *Historiae* and *Annales* have interpolations of as late as the eighth century, and these I discuss elsewhere.

fought in dark nights. The forger did not know the German adage, "In der Nacht sind alle Katzen grau," and that there was no need to paint bodies and faces black, in order to appear black at night time. After that comes the parallel from Caesar that the Germans were terrible; but the perfectly clear statement, "ne uultum quidem atque *aciem oculorum* dicebant ferre potuisse," is here turned into a supposedly Tacitean *bon mot* that the first things to be conquered in battle are the eyes.

In chapter XI of the *Germania* we have a good illustration of the eclectic way in which the history of the Germans was made up.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt.	Hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et uaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne; eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante nouam lunam proelio contendissent, I. 50.
Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur.	Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic obseruant, ut noctem dies subsequatur, VI. 18.

Caesar tells how Ariovistus declined to give battle and how he learned that the German women, who were given to vaticinations, had declared that the Germans would not be victorious, if they began the battle before the new moon. From this particular case the forger generalized the statement that the Germans had their meetings in the beginning and at the end of the new moon. Having once pointed out the importance of the night for the Germans, the forger proceeded to

transfer Caesar's statement in regard to the Gauls, who counted their months and years by the nights, and made the Germans the followers of the Druids. As usual, the forger changed Caesar's perfectly simple statement, "sic obseruant, ut noctem dies subsequatur," into another Tacitean *bon mot*, "sic constituunt, sic condicunt, nox ducere diem videtur." It will be noticed that the provenience of the Gauls from Pluto was by the forger transferred to the Arii, who with their blackened forms gave an impression of the infernal host, "formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt."

From what precedes it is clear that the forger who wrote the *Germania*, either on his own account, or because he found it so in his sources, tried to ascribe all the qualities of the Gauls and Druids to the Germans, that is, to the Franks. This is precisely what is done throughout Hunibald's work, as we learn from Trithemius' compilation. Caesar says, whatever his source for it may have been, that the Druids, for private and public reasons, used Greek letters.[1] Caesar also tells of Greek inscriptions in Helvetian territory.[2] From these two statements, and from the Trojan origin of the Franks, as told in the *Antiquitas*, the writer of the *Germania* concocted the story of the arrival of Ulysses in German territory and establishing himself at Asciburgium on the Rhine. Ulysses is supposed to have left there an altar, naturally with a Greek inscription, and other Greek inscriptions were still supposed to have existed in Raetia and in Germany.[3]

[1] "Publicis priuatisque rationibus Graecis litteris utantur," VI. 14.

[2] "In castris Heluetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae," I. 29.

[3] "Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque . . . aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam adiecto Laërtae patris nomine eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis

We can trace this whole humbug in the *Germania* from its sources.

From Trithemius' account of Hunibald's work it appears that the original writer (Wasthald) had given the history of the fall of Troy, followed by a long list of kings, up to the death of King Antenor, whom the Scandinavians, Goths, and Swedes killed near the Danube in the year 440 B.C. This, of course, is not the original Antenor of Troy, but one of the many Antenors mentioned among the kings of the Franks.

Dudo, of Saint-Quentin, wrote about the year 1020 *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*,[1] where he says that near the Danube there lived in Dacia the nations that, like a swarm of bees, had issued from Scandinavia.[2] After telling of the piratical expeditions of the men from Scandinavia, he makes the statement that the Dacians, called by their own people Danai or Dani, boasted of being descended from Antenor, who, after the fall of Troy, escaped from the Achivians and came to the country of Illyricum.[3]

G. Heeger[4] assumes that Dudo got his idea of Antenor as the ancestor of the Danes from the *Gesta Francorum*, due to Dudo's incredible ignorance, and that the confusion of Dacia and Dania is the result of this

litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc extare: quae neque confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat, vel addat fidem," III.

[1] J. Lair, in *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 3e série, vol. III, pt. 2, 1865.

[2] "In copiosa igitur intercapedine a Danubio ad Scythici ponti usque confinium diffusae, commorantur ferae gentes et barbarae, quae ex Canza insula, Oceano hinc inde circumsepta, velut examen apum ex canistro, seu gladius e vagina, diversitate multimoda dicuntur prosiluisse, consuetudine barbarica," *ibid.*, p. 129.

[3] "Igitur Daci nuncupantur a suis Danai, vel Dani, glorianturque se ex Antenore progenitos; qui, quondam Trojae finibus depopulatis, mediis elapsus Achivis, Illyricos fines penetravit cum suis," *ibid.*, p. 130.

[4] *Über die Trojanersagen der Franken und Normannen*, Landau 1890, p. 31 ff.

same stupidity. But H. Prentout[1] has, with greater justice, shown that the reference to the location of the Dacians is taken out of Jordanes, even as to the wording, and he shows that Jordanes did not make the mistake of confusing the Dacians with the Danes. Prentout, however, agrees with Heeger that the derivation of the Danish kings from Antenor, is Dudo's blunder, due to a wilful change from the *Gesta Francorum*.

Both writers are to some extent mistaken. Already the eighth century shows a confusion of the Dacians and the Danes, and Dudo must have derived his story of the Trojan origin of the Danes from a source which quoted Hunibald, where the Danes are brought in direct contact with Antenor near the Danube, that is, in Dacia.

Aethicus says that the Meopari are a race of sailors in the north.[2] They are wonderful shipbuilders and the first to use submarines and torpedoes.[3] *Myoparon*

[1] *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son Histoire des premiers Ducs Normands*, Paris 1916, p. 35 ff.

[2] "Et alias scribit idem philosophus insolas septentrionales, ubi Meoparos nauticos esse adfirmat," Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 11; also p. 13 (insolae Meoparotae), and pp. 33, 34, 43.

[3] "Deinde ad insolas Meoparonitas Aethicus pervehitur, quas duarum geminatas Januarum ambitum inquiens in oceanum magnum borricum in longitudine[m] non modica circumvallatas ipso pellago; nam inundatione fluminum inrigua populo barbarico fecundae, ingenio efficace tamque veloce [in] arcium navalium et strinuo[s] in fabrorum fornace, eorum peritia in diversis operibus occupata. Nonnumquam etiam tam veloce sunt navigatione, ut latenter trieribus aut scaphis seu carinis dolose foramine pertunsis, earum ruinam et necem navigantium vel ruinam maximam faciant, et omnia quae inibi sunt violenter auferant. Et ad extremum iterum periclitatis nauticis, naufragio[m] perpetrato[m], iterum navium instructionem pristinam reparant. Habent itaque industriam operandi nauticam, quam in nullis partibus mundi vel insolis maris conperire se dicit ad inventionem arcium quarum ab hominibus incertum duceretur. Faciunt nimpe naves, quas Colimphas nuncupant, adnectant catinul[l]as ferro ductile insertas cortice in gyro usque ad summum miro ingenio, adstrictus tantummodo fundus lignis levigatis, et ab intus stagno et crudo admodum et extento corio cum bitumine viriliter adstrictae, videlicet asincito. Meopari quoque cytimam confectionem, inquiunt, apparato solis speculo electrino et vitrio valde e lucidissimo spissoque connectentes acerrimo culice ponunt. Tam sub aquarum densitate quam et mediam inundationem si incumbuerint,

is the name for a light piratical boat, both in Greek and Roman literature, from which Aethicus has named the piratical islands of the north. The northern pirates who are mentioned in Greek and Latin writers since the days of Ptolemy are the Saxons, and Apollinaris Sidonius said of them: "contra Saxonum pandos myoparones, quorum quot remiges videris, totidem te cernere putes archipiratas; ita simul omnes imperant, parent, docent, discunt latrocinari; unde nunc etiam et quam plurimum caveas, causa successit maxima movendi; hostis est enim hoste truculentior; improvisus aggreditur, praevisus elabitur, spernit obiectos, sternit incautos: si sequatur intercipit, si fugiat evadit." It is from this description, supposedly of the end of the fifth century, that the *Historia* which Isidore of Seville quotes[1] and Aethicus got their description of the Saxon pirates. But it is most likely

lumine nunquam indigent in tenuem in[g]luviem aquarum sursum respicientes. Tantam vim ingeniorum sunt edocti ut resubpinatis viribus iuxta illa specula parva, voragine cum bitumine supradicto lita, aquae interius introire non queant. Uncinis ferreis adeo in manuum vel digitorum similitudinem curvatis cum catinolis ferreis miro ingenio productis, ut in quibuscumque gurgitibus impetu velocissimo emissae fuerint, mox [ut] quamvis modico lapillo contigerint, colimphas ubicumque voluerint anchoram figere, statim quando voluerint stationem faciant, et aliarum navium ruinam non incurrant. Ventorum vehementiam tolerant absque ullo periculo. Tempestates maris, quas aequor ille saepius patitur, non metuunt nec periculum illarum incurrunt, sed in tanta velocitate elevationem aquarum sufferunt, ut absque aliqua molestia portum quo tendunt pertingant. Maxime ab initio mensis Junii, quando situm stellarum vel signa praecipua cognoverint, usque Kalendas Novembris quasi ad praedam sine ulla intermissione[m] erumpunt. Unde idem philosophus ait: O tu mare brumericum, catago multorum hominum, aquilonis pinna[s] ad summum naufragium gentium ad extremum ultra magnitudinem, piscium et biluarum ac hominum hamum, triumphatorium hostium cachinfatorum naufragium, aulonium navium. Privata vehicula nauclerium subsecuta iam morte periculum, limphaque arma adsumitur et carina magna trituratur, trieris singultu[m] rigatur, sc[h]afa dolose obprimitur. Ululant naves maris murmure vorante decipula colimphas in mod[ic]um testitudinis cocleis adamantinis; at erga navium umbelicos aculeum. Meoparorum insidias ruina multorum fi[g]eri. Gement naves maris praedonum crudelium sub latice fore dromones. Barbarica enim lingua Dromu vagines pirnas nuncupant, id est aquarum praedones sub aqua degentes," *ibid.*, p. 21 ff.

[1] "De qualibus Historia 'Gens,' inquit, 'Saxonum mioparonibus, non viribus nituntur, fugae potius quam bello parati,'" XIX. 1. 21.

that the *Historia* of Isidore is one of the *Antiquitates*, hence an interpolation of the eighth century.

The account of the pirates is found in Tacitus' *Germania*, but here we no longer have the Saxons, but the Swedes, accredited with piracy, hence a much later account, of not earlier than the end of the eighth century. Hochart observed,[1] quite correctly, that in Tacitus' *Annales* and *Historiae* there is a queer description of a ship that has a prow at both ends and can move in either direction. Curiously enough, the *Germania* has the same account, and from a study of the three passages it may be shown that we have before us, to say the least, eighth century interpolations in the *Historiae* and *Annales*.

In the *Annales* we are told of ships which had a rudder at each end, so that the rowing could be done in either direction.[2] No such ships are described anywhere else, except in the case of the Egyptian ships of state. Assuming that we have here a correct description by Tacitus, it is certainly strange that even to the wording it should coincide with a description of such ships in the *Historiae*. Here we have the description of pirates' boats, called *camarae*, which are covered with roofs in storms and move this way and that way by interchanging the oars.[3] There is no reference here to two rudders, though the prow is supposed to be at either end.

We have a detailed description of these pirates' boats in the same region of the Pontus by Strabo. He says that they have light boats, narrow and long, which can hold from twenty-five to thirty men, and which the Greeks call *κάμαραι*. These *κάμαραι* are used by them as freight-boats. When they return

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
[2] "Plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent," *Annales*, II. 6.
[3] *Historiae*, III. 47.

home they carry these boats on their shoulders into the forest. They similarly hide their boats when out on piratical expeditions on land.[1] There is an interpolation in this passage of Strabo. After a correct description of the boats, there follows the statement that the Greeks call them *κάμαραι*, although no such name occurs elsewhere in Greek. What Strabo talks about is the *μυοπάρων*, which is repeatedly mentioned as a pirate boat in the Greek and Latin writers, and which, as *myoparones*, we have seen has survived in Apollinaris Sidonius, Isidore of Seville, and Aethicus. Apparently *κάμαραι* has been substituted in Strabo for *μυοπάρων* throughout the whole story.

In Greek and in Latin, *camara*, besides meaning "a room," means "a covered carriage." If, therefore, it means a boat, it can be only a covered boat; but in Strabo there is not even a distant reference to such a vessel. Indeed, a boat that could easily be carried on men's shoulders could not be a covered boat. Aethicus described the *camara* and *camereca* as covered

[1] «Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σινδικὴν καὶ τὴν Γοργιπίαν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἡ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἡνιόχων παραλία, τὸ πλέον ἀλίμενος καὶ ὀρεινή, τοῦ Καυκάσου μέρος οὖσα. Ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ληστηρίων, ἀκάτια ἔχοντες λεπτά, στενὰ καὶ κοῦφα, ὅσον ἀνθρώπους πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δεχόμενα, σπάνιον δὲ τριάκοντα δέξασθαι τοὺς πάντας δυνάμενα· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες καμάρας· φασὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰάσονος στρατιᾶς τοὺς μὲν Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν ἐνθάδε Ἀχαΐαν οἰκίσαι, Λάκωνας δὲ τὴν Ἡνιοχίαν, ὧν ἦρχον Ῥέκας καὶ Ἀμφίστρατος, οἱ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἡνίοχοι, καὶ τοὺς Ἡνιόχους ἀπὸ τούτων εἰκὸς ὠνομάσθαι· τῶν δ' οὖν καμαρῶν στόλους κατασκευαζόμενοι καὶ ἐμπλέοντες τοτὲ μὲν ταῖς ὁλκάσι, τοτὲ δὲ χώρᾳ τινὶ ἢ καὶ πόλει θαλαττοκρατοῦσι· προσλαμβάνουσι δ' ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ οἱ τὸν Βόσπορον ἔχοντες, ὑφόρμους χορηγοῦντες καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ διάθεσιν τῶν ἁρπαζομένων· ἐπανιόντες δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρία, ναυλοχεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀναθέμενοι τοῖς ὤμοις τὰς καμάρας ἀναφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς δρυμούς, ἐν οἷσπερ καὶ οἰκοῦσι, λυπρὰν ἀροῦντες γῆν· καταφέρουσι δὲ πάλιν, ὅταν ἢ καιρὸς τοῦ πλεῖν. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ, γνώριμα ἔχοντες ὑλώδη χωρία, ἐν οἷς ἀποκρύψαντες τὰς καμάρας αὐτοὶ πλανῶνται πεζῇ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνδραποδισμοῦ χάριν· ἃ δ' ἂν λάβωσιν ἐπίλυτρα ποιοῦσι ῥᾳδίως, μετὰ τοὺς ἀνάπλους μηνύοντες τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν· ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δυναστευομένοις τόποις ἐστί τις βοήθεια ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις· ἀντεπιτίθενται γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ κατάγουσιν αὐτάνδρους τὰς καμάρας· ἡ δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀβοηθητοτέρα ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν πεμπομένων,» XI. 2. 12.

boats.[1] The description in Aethicus, as probably everything else in it, is not due to a translation from a Greek original, as claimed by Klotz,[2] but to a translation from the Arabic. The Arabic original may have existed also in a Greek translation, or the translator wrote in that horrible Graeco-Latin style which characterizes the Latin translators of the Syrio-Latin texts of the Gospels; but the Aethicus before us is so full of Arabic words as to make the translation from the Arabic an absolute certainty. Speaking of the *camereca*, the translator says that it had in the middle a hunched *colcherium* like the hump of a camel. *Colcherium* does not occur elsewhere in Latin. It is the Arab. كلكل *kalkal* "the hollow chest, the keel." This Arab. *kalkal* has given rise to the "keel" words in the Germanic and Romance languages. We have OHG. *keola*, a translation of "rates (naves)." The lemma is due to Servius,[3] "rates abusive naves, nam proprie rates sunt convexae invicem trabes," from which it is obvious that "rates" was taken to be "the beams tied together" or "the keel of a ship." Now, the translation of *rates* in Arabic is كلك *kalak*, which originally means "a bag filled with air and used for swimming." It is from the Pers. *kalak* "a kind of float for passing rivers, constructed of bundles of reeds and the like, and a number of inflated skins," which is, no doubt, related to Pers. *kilk* "a hollow reed." We have Syr.

[1] "*Camereca* navis opinatissima ob hoc nuncupata quod camelorum more in medio curvum colcherium quasi gybbum cameli habeat, quod fenestras obliquas modicas ad ventorum receptacula ferat. *Camara* sursum consuta coriis magnis coniunctis umbone[m] in similitudinem lebetum facta[m] in ipsum gibbum, qui[a] ut anhelitum ventorum reciperet, mox in similitudinem tonitrui magni reboat terribilem sonitum. Tempestates maris sine periculo tol[l]erat. Ad navale bellum robustissimo vigore obfirmata atque munita narratur. Hanc navem Cycrobem in oceanas insolas Frisargicas in suae artis peritia[m] idem historicus invenisse narrat[ur]," Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2] *Philologus*, vol. 65 (1906), p. 97.

[3] To *Aeneid*, I. 43.

كَلْكَا *kalkā* "internatatorius, ratis, navicula, cymba." From Arab. كلك *kalak* "float, ferry" developed كلكل *kalkal* "inflated, chest, keel," and from either one or the other we get in Aethicus *colcherium* "inflated body, keel" and OHG. "rates *keola*," where "rates" combines the two meanings of "keel" and "ship." Later OHGerman and the ASaxon glosses ventured on a Latin etymology and wrote "celox *ceola;*" but that is absurd, since *ceola* means "keel," and hence, like "carina," is used for "ship" in general, but never means "swift boat," as implied by "celox." All the Germanic words for "keel" and all the Romance words of the same group, generally derived from the OHGerman, are in reality derived from an Arabic gloss to "rates."

Aside from Aethicus, no other source knows anything of *camereca*, and no other source but Strabo and Tacitus record *camara*. The form *camereca* at once shows where Aethicus got his ship. Athenaeus[1] gives an account of some ships of an enormous size which Ptolemy Philopator built. One of them was called *θαλαμηγός*. It was half a stadium in length and was fitted out most luxuriously within. The keel was naturally flat and there were double prows and poops, in order to withstand the high waves. Suetonius says that Caesar went with Cleopatra up the Nile in a *thalamegus*.[2] Athenaeus does not distinctly say that either end of the boat could be used as a prow, but that is apparently what he meant by the double prows. The enormous length of the ship and its flat bottom made it difficult for it to turn in the riverbed, and so, no doubt, the ship could be rowed in either direction. It was this that gave rise to the legend of a boat which had two prows and which Minerva, according to Hyginus, first built for Danaus when he

[1] V. 37, 38.
[2] *Caesar*, 52.

fled to Egypt.[1] But it is only through the story of Noah's ark that the idea of a boat which could go in either direction was developed. Aethicus translated *θαλαμηγός* by *camereca*, and invented the second boat, *camara*, because Noah's ark is mentioned in the Bible as "navis bicamerata" and "tricamerata." Aethicus also describes a boat, *vagio*, which is due entirely to his imagination, for the name does not occur again. He distinctly mentions that the *vagio* was built like the ark and says that it could go hither and thither.[2] This is taken out of a description of the ark, falsely ascribed to Bede.[3]

We can now see how the reference to *camara* occurred in Tacitus. The Gr. *θαλαμηγός* gave rise to Lat. *camara*, which is mentioned as a ship in the catalogue given by Aulus Gellius.[4] *Camara* could refer only to a ship which had decks or cabins, and obviously was a ship of state used on the Nile. Hyginus ascribed the invention of such a ship to Minerva, when Danaus went to Egypt, that is, he had in mind the Egyptian *θαλαμηγός*. Tacitus, therefore, could not have committed the mistake of calling a pirate boat, such as Strabo described specifically, by the name of a ship of state. The mistake made by the interpolator arose only through a misunderstanding, which Aethicus was the first to create. From Apollinaris Sidonius he got his idea of

[1] "Tunc primum dicitur Minerva navem fecisse biproram in qua Danaus profugeret," CLXVIII, *Hygini Fabulae*, ed. M. Schmidt, Jenae 1872, p. 31; "Minerva prima navem biproram Danao aedificavit, in qua Aegyptum fratrem profugit," CCLXXVII, *ibid.*, p. 153.

[2] "Vagiones naviculas in mare miro ingenio fabricatas, ut philosophus adserit, ex tenuibus tabulis levigatis ac dolatis, aereis laminis circumdatis. Turriculas sursum caelatas conclusas esse gypsis bituminatis dicit, sicut archa[m] fuisse legimus factum. Et ob hoc vagiones nuncupati, quasi huc illucque veloci cursu vagantes et cito properantes qualesque in Troianica obsidione in Simoente fuerunt. Nam Albani, et Timazeti, Meoti, Minazeti, Gangines, Tulchi has naves utuntur et eas pirones in barbarica lingua appellant. Utilioris enim quam dromones sunt, adtamen in mediterraneo mare nusquam reperiuntur," Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[3] "Illa super fluctus diluvii huc atque illuc fatigata ferebatur," Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. XC, col. 1179.

[4] X. 25. 5.

the naval prowess of the Saxons, who were reputed to be dreaded pirates. He may have learned from Pliny[1] that the German pirates made their canoes out of a single tree, which could hold thirty persons. So he created a nation of Myoparones who operated in the North. He united the information about marvelous naval architecture from Athenaeus, as a comparison of the passage from Aethicus quoted on page 292 with Athenaeus, V. 36-44, shows, added to it all he knew about the *navis camerata* of the Bible, and made the pirates build ships which the Egyptian Ptolemies only knew how to build. Thus arose the *camara*, *camereca*, and *vagio* of Aethicus. The interpolator of *Historiae*, III. 47, learned about the *camara* from Aethicus and possibly from the Bible, and finished by saying, "sic inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc appellere indiscretum et innoxium est." The interpolator took such a liking to the ship that could go hither and thither that he repeated the same story, almost in the same words, in regard to ships that he had the Romans build on the island of the Batavians, that is, in the region described by Aethicus.[2] In this new passage the relation to Athenaeus' *θαλαμηγός* and Aethicus' *camereca* is even clearer than in the *Historiae*. The interpolation in Strabo of the word *κάμαρα* for *μυοπάρων* is unquestionably later than that in Tacitus, because here we have no reference whatsoever to a boat with two prows, the word *κάμαρα* having already become conventionalized for a piratical boat.

[1] XVI. 203.

[2] "Mille naves sufficere visae properataeque, aliae breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui, velis habiles, citae remis, augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem," *Annales*, II. 6.

The forger of the *Germania* went one better. He took the whole passage from the *Historiae*, III. 47, and concocted a new story for the Swedish pirates. In the *Historiae*, III. 46, we are told that the Dacians were becoming restless. In the next chapter we have an account of the other nations in the Pontus, who were being roused to sedition by a slave, a former prefect of the navy, by the name of Anicetus. He corrupted the barbarians with the promise of spoil even for the poorest. Then we get the statement that the barbarians traveled about in ships called *camarae*, which were built with decks, so as to keep out the waves. From this account we get the absurd statement in the *Germania*[1] that the Swedes honor wealth, that they are ruled by one man, and that their arms are in the custody of a slave. The sentence, "praeter viros armaque classibus valent," was intended, no doubt, for "praeter vires armaque classibus valent," which is a counterpart of Isidore's "gens Saxonum non viribus nititur, fugae potius quam bello parati," or, still more closely, of Hegesippus'[2] "(Saxonia) validissimum genus hominum perhibetur et praestans ceteris, piraticis tamen myoparonibus non viribus nititur fugae potius quam bello paratum." From the sentence in *Historiae*, III. 47, "corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque," we get here the absurd statement, "est apud illos opibus honos." From the mention that Anicetus was impatient of change, "mutationis impatiens," we

[1] "Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent. forma navium eo differt quod utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit. nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. est apud illos et opibus honos; eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est," *Germania*, XLIV.

[2] V. 15.

get the similarly absurd elaboration, "eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi." From the perfectly natural statement that Anicetus, a barbarian slave, started a rebellion, "arma moverat," we get the horribly perverted statement that the arms were not kept promiscuously, as among the other Germans, but were guarded by a slave, "nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo." It would be difficult to find a more stupid transformation of an already interpolated story.

These northern pirates are called *Suiones*.[1] Beyond the Suiones, according to the *Germania*, live the *Sitones*. It is clear from Jordanes that these are identical with his *Suetidi*,[2] and from the Arabic accounts we see that *Suetidi*, *Sitones* are derived from *Al-aswad*, the "Black Sea," near which they lived. Beyond Suebia, according to the *Germania*, live the Peucini, Veneti, and Fenni. The Peucini were originally called Bastarnae and are by speech, culture, and domicile Germans, contaminated only with the Sarmatians by intermarriage.[3] The Peucini are universally recognized to have been Celts who lived at the mouth of the Danube.[4] Only Pliny thought them to be Germans who lived near the Dacians,[5] who otherwise were called Getae.[6] From the fourth century on, the *Getae* were confused with the *Gothi*, and at the same time, no doubt, the *Daci* began to be confused with the

[1] See p. 251.

[2] "Suetidi, cogniti in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores," *Getica*, III (23).

[3] "Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito: quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium ac torpor procerum; conubiis mixtis non nihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur," XLVI.

[4] K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, München 1837, p. 127 ff.

[5] "Peucini, Basternae, supra dictis contermini Dacis," IV. 100.

[6] "Getae, Daci Romanis dicti," IV. 80.

Dani. Jordanes speaks in the same breath of Gothi and Peucini, but leaves the latter near the Danube.[1] But the forger of the *Germania*, mistaking the *Daci* for the *Dani*, placed the Peucini next to the Sitones. Here again we see that Strabo was interpolated after the *Germania* was in existence, for he, too, places the Peucini near the *Σιδόνες*.[2] There cannot be the slightest doubt about an interpolation here, because the Peucini are correctly placed at the mouth of the Danube, whereas the Sidones, as we see from the *Germania*, are somewhere in Norway. It is more than likely that the *Σιδηνοί*, *Σίδωνες* of Ptolemy, placed indefinitely somewhere near the Northern Ocean, are a similar interpolation. Jordanes puts the Dani together with the Suetidi,[3] just as the forger of the *Germania* placed the Peucini, that is, the nation near the Daci, near the Sitones.

We can now see why the forger took the passage in the *Historiae*, III. 47, as a basis for his account of the Suiones. To him the Pontus was a sea into which the Danube flowed, but he recklessly transferred the whole region to the north. A nation near the Pontus was given to piracy. So was the nation in the north, called *Myoparones* by Aethicus. The forger knew from Arabic accounts about the *Īsū* and *Aswad*. He had a faint idea that the *Daci* and *Dani* were one and the same, and he knew that the ships with double prows were made for Danaus. From all that confusion arose the hodge-podge of the account in the *Germania* dealing with the extreme north.

We can now return to the Fall of Troy.

[1] *Getica*, XVI (91).

[2] «Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν τοῖς Τυρεγέταις ὅμοροι καὶ Γερμανοῖς, σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, εἰς πλείω φῦλα διηρημένοι. Καὶ γὰρ Ἄτμονοι λέγονταί τινες καὶ Σ ι δ ό ν ε ς , οἱ δὲ τὴν Πεύκην κατασχόντες καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ νῆσον Πευκῖνοι,» VII. 3. 17.

[3] "Dani, ex ipsorum stirpe progressi," III (23).

There is not a trace of a relation between the Fall of Troy and the Germans in Gregory of Tours or in any author before the year 727. The *Liber historiae Francorum* begins with the history of the Fall of Troy. Aeneas escapes and settles near the Maeotide Swamp, where he builds the city of Sicambria. The Alanians make an incursion upon the Maeotide Swamp and are ejected by the Trojans, who are now called Franci by Valentinian on account of their ferocity.[1] Unwilling to pay taxes to Rome, the Franci move on and settle near the Rhine. Here Faramund, the son of Marcomir, was chosen king. Then they began to have (Salic) laws. Thereupon we come to the account in Gregory of Tours, according to which Chlodius, the son of Faramund, lived in Disbargum, a fortified place in Thuringia, a region of Germany. Fredegar's Chronicle, which has additions made in the eighth century,[2] as is proved conclusively by the reference to *Francus* and *Vasso* as ..... of the Franks, quotes this place as *Esbargium*, *Asobargim*, *Hesbargim*,[3] etc., which is not far removed from the *Asciburgium* of the *Germania*. The Trojans, although enemies of the Greeks, were confused with the Greeks, hence the *Esbargium* of Thuringia led to *Asciburgium* of Tacitus, where Greek inscriptions were found. The whole Troy origin of the Franks arose in the eighth century, when it became fashionable to consider the Franks as the true political descendants of the Romans. This was expressed in the genealogies, which I have discussed in connection with Pseudo-Berosus,[4] where the Franks and Alamannians were classed together with Britons and Romans, as descendants from Isaac.

[1] *MGH.*, *Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. II, p. 241 ff.
[2] G. Schnürer, *Die Verfasser der sogenannten Fredegar-Chronik*, Freiburg 1900, p. 90 ff.
[3] *MGH.*, *Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. II, p. 95.
[4] See p. 213 ff.

Of course, such a relationship could have been predicated from the *Chronographus anni CCCLIIII*[1] or the *Liber genealogus anni CCCCXXVII*,[2] but the abbreviated form of the derivation of the Romans directly from Isaac, shows that the relationship was made out anew on the basis of the Arabic genealogy. From the relationship of Rome to Troy arose also the relationship of the Franks to Troy.

This follows inevitably from the account of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, which, to judge from the last date recorded, namely, 727, was written soon after that date. But it is in the account given by Hunibald, and reported by Trithemius, that we get the real reason for the correlation of Franks and Romans, which actuated the Troy story. According to Hunibald,[3] the Trojans, later called Scythians, and still later, Franks, were located near the mouth of the Danube. Their king, Antenor, was killed in battle with the Goths, who came from Scanzia. This was in 440 B.C. Then his son, Marcomir, ascended the throne and determined to avenge his father's death. He called together the ministers of his gods, who evoked the spirits. Marcomir saw before him a three-headed monster, of which one head was that of a toad, the second of a lion, the third of an eagle. The eagle's head said: "Your offspring will subdue my head; they will destroy both the lion and the toad." Similar predictions were made by the toad's and lion's heads. Then suddenly the monster was changed into the form of a man, with the scepter in the left hand and the sword in the right, who confirmed the prophecy. Marcomir asked the *aliruna* what the significance of this prophecy was. She told him that he was to travel towards the west, to where the people representing the lion, and descended from the Trojans,

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. IX, p. 15 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 154 ff.
[3] Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 2 ff.

was situated on this side of the Rhine. The toad nation was living across the Rhine, while the nation represented by the eagle was that of the Romans. The Franks were to settle between the two, the lion and the toad. They would wage many wars with the toads, and many would be killed; but after many years they would possess themselves of the country of the toads, and also of the territory of the lions, until, after three generations, there would be one king over all that land. The Franks sent a legation to the Saxons, asking from them permission to settle in their territory, after which they emigrated to Frisia, and Marcomir conquered much territory. It is up to the death of Marcomir that Wasthald composed his account in the Scythian language, from the Fall of Troy.

Here we have a sufficient reason why the Franks are coupled with the Romans as descendants of Isaac. We also have a sufficient reason why they, like the Romans, should be derived from the Trojans. If the year 727 may be taken as the approximate date of the creation of the Troy story, we get the time of Charles Martel, who conquered the rebellious Alamannians in 725, as the one in which the pretensions to the Roman Empire were first mooted. But it may be that, in spite of the last recorded date of 727, the work was really accomplished after 754, when Pope Stephen III crowned Pippin and his two sons, Charles and Karloman, kings.

It is not easy to get at the Frankish origins in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, because it is such a hodgepodge from various sources; but a certain amount of order may be established in it. We are told in this account, that when Aeneas fled to Italy, Antenor came in ships to the shores of the Tanais, where he built the city of Sicambria near the Maeotide Swamps. At that time the Alani rebelled against Valentinian, who

defeated them, whereupon they fled from the shores of the Danube to the Maeotide Swamps. At the request of Valentinian, the Trojans ejected the Alani from them, for which reason Valentinian called them in the Attic language, Franks, which means "ferocious." After ten years the Emperor was going to collect taxes from the Franks, but they refused to pay them, saying that they had always been free. Valentinian attacked them, and they moved away from Sicambria and settled near the Rhine. With the counsel of their leader, Marcomir, the Franks chose his son, Faramund, for their longhaired king, and it was then that they began to have laws. After the death of Faramund, they chose Chlodio, the longhaired one, as their king. They came to Thuringia, where Chlodio lived in the castle Dispargum.

We have a still older account of the Trojan origin of the Franks in Aethicus. Before giving the story as contained there, we must ascertain more definitely the age in which Aethicus wrote. Much learning has been wasted to prove that St. Jerome was the real translator into Latin of this impossible work,[1] whereas it is very easy to show that it was written after 711. The chemical terms that occur in this work are such as are found in Arabic works on alchemy, some of them being of Arabic origin. Aethicus says of the earth: "Terram dicit in ipsam massam cum suis possessoribus, et pecoribus ac bestiis volatilibus, cum aere ut hemitica, carpaica, sataica et sorectica ac humarrica atque athomica torradicaque safargica, spuraca et brumarrica in eaque massa posita."[2] Here it is not safe to identify the various terms, as their meanings are not given. Fortunately, two of these terms occur

[1] H. Wuttke, *op. cit.*; d'Avezac, *Éthicus et les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom*, Paris 1852; K. Pertz, *De Cosmographia Ethici libri tres*, Berolini 1853.

[2] Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

again. We have *Humericus lacus* "the Sea of Asphaltum."[1] Aethicus distinctly calls it "bituminatum," hence it is Arab. حمر *ḥumar* "bitumen Judaicum." It cannot be from the Hebrew, because there it is חֵמָר *ḥēmār*. The second word is *safargica*, which occurs again in connection with *afrodica*, to express earth in which gold and copper are found.[2] The Gr. *ἀφροδίτη* was used by the Syrians and Arabs for "copper,"[3] and Arab. صفر *ṣufur*, الصفرا *'aṣ-ṣafrā'u* is "gold."

Thus the age of the *Cosmographia* is established, beyond a shadow of a doubt, as after 711. But it is right here that we have an important account of the Trojan origin of the Franks. Aethicus confuses the *Alani* with the *Albani*. According to him, they lived near his country of Istria. Romulus waged war on the

[1] "Porro Scihtarum gentes in multam munitionem tam montanam quam et saltuum refertissimam; campestria frugum uberrima et usque ad oceanum sericum porrecta[m] atque mare Caspium, quod respicit occasum, exinde a meridie usque *lacum Humericum bituminatum*, a parte aquilonis magnum enim in gyrum dilatatum quasi stadiis centum a radicibus monti[bu]s Humerosi[s], ita ferventem velut candentem fornacem; de qua aqua si volucres attigerint vel palpaverint ultra nequaquam vivere possunt. Idem narrat, sicut et superius multa praefatus est, quod de calore et vapore Humericorum montium, quia a parte inferorum vidisse se adserit fumantes, prae nimia ariditate vel ustione, mortis foetorem inducit," *ibid.*, p. 48.

[2] "Dein in insolas Brittanicas et Tylen navigavit quas ille Brutanicas appellavit. Imperitissimam gentem, horrorem nimium. Sectantes artes multas et ingenio maximo terrarum pollent. Metalla invenire ibi narrat auri et argenti, oricalci et stagni magnitudinem ac ferri. Multasque alias adinventiones quae investigabiles ab aliis gentibus. Erudiens discipulos suos fecit eos artifices mirificos, et usque nunc artifices multi in eas insolas usi sunt eo modo, ut si in litoribus maris aut fluminum glarea candorem cretae cum sabulo reddiderit et venarum parte pauxilli rivi processerint ebullientes ac ferventes, non nimis cal[l]idae rufaeque commixtim *afrodica terra et safargica*, aut aurum aut oricalcum metallum reperies vel aes, tam in litoribus, quae sarfaicam et acervicam habuerint arvam. Sed in raris locis sic invenitur argenti et stagni metallum vel mina, Aquitania valde et Hispania, Valeria, et multas terrarum regiones habere, et levius invenire possunt, non difficile ab habitatoribus vel quaestionariis suis. Nam auro fodinam et oricalcum gnaros artifices ea arte, quam supra commemoravit, invenire praedixit," *ibid.*, p. 14 f.

[3] Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris 1893, vol. II, pp. 9, 11, 22, etc.

Albani and founded Rome. Then he crossed the Simois and fought with Francus and Vassus, the descendants of the Trojans, and conquered them. But Francus and Vassus united with the Albani, crossed the Ister, and attacked Romulus. They were again defeated. Francus and Vassus, seeing they were lost, escaped with a few of their men, and the Albani returned to their homes. Francus and Vassus crossed Raetia and built the city of Sicambria near the Maeotide Swamps.[1]

[1] "Lacedaemonia, Pannonia et Histria post celeberrimam Graeciam; suarum generationum repetens ait: me circuitu[m] viarum mearum et opus et rumor subrepsit, ut decidentium si falsa fuerunt retroacta obmitterem, aut si vera reciperim, si ambigua frustra ducerer. Pondus laboris mel meae causae extetit, ut itineris vacatio, veritas labor[ar]em sequatur. Quantae clades in Lacedaemonia, Norico et Pannonia, Histria et Albania, vicinae meae septentrionalium regiones, primum a Romanis et Numitore tyranne, dein sub Romolo Remoque fratribus postque Tarquinio Prisco, Superbo. Cum taedio cordis mei stragem subolis meae cogor propalare; et postmodum orientalium ac loca meridiana, quae obmisi, retexam. Numitor igitur regno male usurpato hostem et vastationem Tusciae saevissimam intulit; Pirreneos montes Cisalpinaque iuga peracessit, Noricos obtinuit, Histriam crudeliter obpr[a]essit, Histrum transiens cum Albanis altercavit sed superare non potuit, cum magnis spoliis remeavit. Nec multo post obiurgantes mutuo nepotes cum avo consurrexitque Romulus super avum, Numitorem interfecit, regnum sagaciter et adroganter usurpavit. Euandriae urbis muros et moenia ampliavit. Ipsam nimpe urbem a suo vocabulo Romam nuncupavit. Ipse vero post avum fatricida extitit, Remum necavit spurcitiae omni deditus et luxoria freniticus pellexator nefarius. Commoto exercitu Romanorum avi crudelitate arreptus Lacedaemones crudeliter debellavit, Pannoniam vastavit, Semoen transiit, post primam eversionem Troiae secundus cruentator peraccessit, cum Franco et Vasso qui ex regia prosapia remanserant certando dimicavit, ipsosque superatos. Il[l]io dinuo capta remeavit ad urbem. Francus enim et Vassus foedus apud Albanos patraverant mutuo moventes exercitum contra Romolum, montana Histriae transeuntes fixerunt tentoria, contra quos Romolus castra obponit; cum Franco et Vasso dinuo bellaturus properavit in montem sacrum arasque Iovis famosissimas. Praeparavit ad aciem perduellis hostes invicem dimicantes. Romulus post cruentissimam stragem, sicut maximum moverat exercitum, victor extetit debellaturosque superavit. Francus et Vassus caesum cernentes exercitum cum paucis qui remanserant per fugam lapsi evaserunt. Albani prostrati atque devicti, qui evadere potuerant a caede maxima, reversi sunt ad propria. Francus, ut diximus, et Vassus videntes se superatos, terram autem adflictam et vastatam in solitudinemque redactam, relinquentes propria cum paucis sodalibus sed viris expeditis pulsi a sede statim, Raetiam penetrantes ad invia et deserta Germaniae pervenerunt, laevaque Maeotidas paludes demittentes more praedonum pyr[r]aticum et fero fisorum atque latronum degentes urbem construunt; Sichambriam barbarica sua lingua nuncupant idem gladium et arcum, more praedonum externorumque positam," Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 76 f.

The *Alani*, *Albani* are no other than the *Alamanni*, whom the Franks defeated in the beginning of the eighth century, but who are also mentioned as defeated by Gratian[1] and Valentinian,[2] wherefore the whole account is placed in the time of Valentinian. Indeed, many manuscripts of Gregory of Tours and the other early sources read *Alamanni* for *Alani*.

The Frankish kings are supposed to have lived in Thuringia, in a castle or fortified town called *Disbargum*, before they settled in Gaul. This rests on a compound blunder. It was started by Isidore, who said that the Burgundians were subdued by the Romans and then settled on the banks of the Rhine, and that their name was derived from the word *burgus* "castle," because they settled in hamlets which were so called.[3] We have also the stupid statement in the *Germania* that the Germans who were the first to cross the Rhine were then called Tungri, but now are called Germans.[4] As the Germans are already mentioned in the time of Caesar and earlier, the statement in Tacitus is most absurd. If they were called Germans before they were called Tungri, why were they again called Germans afterwards? But we get an answer to the blunder the moment we look into Hunibald. Here we are told that Theodomir, son of Richimer, was constantly at war with the Romans. At that time the country of the Franks was in the region of the Tungri,

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. XI, p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 241.
[3] "Burgundiones quondam, a Romanis subacta interiori Germania, per castrorum limites positi a Tiberio Caesare in magnam coaluerunt gentem, atque ita nomen ex locis sumpserunt; quia crebra per limites habitacula constituta burgos vulgo vocant. Hi postea rebelles Romanis effecti plus quam octoginta milia armatorum ripae Rheni fluminis insederunt, et nomen gentis obtinuerunt," IX. 2. 99.
[4] "Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur," II.

across the Meuse, in a castle which the *Antiquitas* called *Dispartum.* From the Franks, up to the Loire, lived the Gauls, under Roman rule. Beyond the Loire were the Goths, mixed with other nations. The Franks occupied a great part of Gaul, beyond the Meuse. Theodomir's son, Clogio, waged war with the Romans, who had just been fighting the Alamanni. This was in the days of Julian the Apostate. Afterwards, Valentinian waged war with the Saxons, who were defeated.[1]

Hunibald did not confuse the Tungri with the Thuringians, who are frequently mentioned by Trithemius as *Doringi.* Indeed, they are discussed at large immediately before the Tungri. The Doringi asked aid of the Frankish king, Clodomir, against the Suevi, and gave the Franks land in their country in which to settle.[2] Under Valentinian the Burgundians settled near the Rhine.[3] It is clear that the account in Hunibald is the original one from which all the confusion arose. It is original, because it is more free from blunders and contains the explanation of the later corruptions. Instead of *Alani*, we have here *Alamanni*, the Franks come from the country of the *Tungri* and make settlements in *Thuringia*, and about the same time the Burgundians settle near the Rhine. The reference to *Dispartum* is apparently not from Hunibald, as Trithemius refers to the *Antiquitas*, by which he means some other old source, Gregory of Tours, or the *Liber historiae Francorum.*

The authors who quoted Hunibald confused the *Tungri* with *Thuringia*, the *Alamanni* with the *Alani*, and, from the fact that the Franks were at first at the Rhine, where the Burgundians are placed at first, assumed that the Franks lived "in castellis *id est*

[1] Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 27 f. and p. 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

burgis;" and so arose the idea of their living "in castello *Disburgo*," preserved to us in many corrupted forms, as "in castello *Disbargo*," etc. But the forger, who noticed that the Franks, that is, the Germans, at first lived among the Tungri and then gave the name of Franks to all of Gaul, jumped to the conclusion that the Germans were at first called Tungri and then Germans again.

There was good reason for substituting the *Alani* for the *Alamanni*. The Franks were originally located at the Maeotide Swamp. In this the writers of the Frankish *Antiquitates* followed the Gothic example, which made out of Borysthenis a Gothic city. The Goths were made congeners of Homer, and their nobility found an external expression in long hair; they became the *capillati* of Jordanes.[1] Presto, the kings of the Franks were distinguished for their long hair; they became the *criniti*. Hunibald says that Clodio, the son of Faramund, commanded that all the Franks should wear long hair, to distinguish them from the conquered Gauls, wherefore Clodio was called *crinitus* or *capillosus*.[2]

The story of Valentinian and the Alani, castellum Dispargum, and Clodius crinitus, are all in Gregory of Tours,[3] but as all this follows immediately after the mention of Orosius, which is an interpolation, it is difficult to ascertain whether this does not belong to an earlier legend, which was already current in the sixth century. Especially the reference to the long hair, as an attribute of royal power, would seem to be old, since it seems to be implied in several stories in Gregory. When Chlodovech was killed and thrown into the river, for instance, he was later recognized

[1] See p. 78.
[2] Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 35.
[3] II. 9.

by his long hair;[1] to make it impossible for Chararich and his sons to become kings, Chlodovech had their hair cut off;[2] Chlotachar had Gundovald shorn, because he did not want to recognize him as his son.[3] These cases prove nothing, however, since not only kings, but also those who might become kings, wore long hair. They only prove that those who had their hair shorn could not become kings, because the shearing of hair was considered a disgrace, if it was done forcibly. In the sixth council of Toledo it is distinctly explained that one shorn a monk or basely deprived of his hair, could not become a king.[4] Long before that Jerome had said that dandies, soldiers and barbarians wore long hair,[5] and Honorius, in 416, passed a law forbidding the wearing of long hair.[6] In all this there is not even distantly a reference to a law demanding that only kings should wear long hair. This is found only in the passage in Gregory of Tours, in connection with the rest of the legend, and in Agathias.

Agathias is supposed to have written toward the end of the sixth century. That he is a base plagiarist, getting his material pell-mell from Herodotus, Thucydides, etc., has been shown beyond any possibility of cavil.[7] The introduction is cribbed out of Herodotus.[8] Almost in the very beginning of the history s found the fulsome praise of the Franks, where we are told it was a law that the Frankish kings should wear long hair.[9] There are several passages in Hero-

[1] VIII. 10.
[2] II. 41.
[3] VI. 24.
[4] "Rege vero defuncto nullus tyrannica praesumptione regnum assumat; nulus sub religionis habitu detonsus, aut turpiter decalvatus, aut servilem originem trahens, vel extraneae gentis homo, nisi genere Gothus et moribus dignus, provehatur ad apicem regni," can. XVII.
[5] Gothofred's *Codex Theodosianus*, editio nova, vol. V, p. 240.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] G. Franke, *Quaestiones Agathianae*, Trebnitziae 1914.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 3 ff.
[9] Agathias, I. 3.

dotus which tell of wearing long hair, but it is the Lacedaemonians who passed a law demanding that long hair be worn.[1] There can be no question about the mythical value of the story about the long-haired kings of the Franks. The only point is whether it was already known in the sixth century. This is very doubtful, since it is most likely that, in spite of the assertion to the contrary, and the reference to Agathias in Euagrius, the work was written in the eighth or ninth century. Agathias seems to have had some Syriac or Arabic source before him. He himself mentions Sergius, who lived at the Persian court, as his source, and it has been proposed that it is the Syrian Sergius, who lived in the sixth century.[2] Certainly his judgment of the Franks coincides amazingly with that of Mas-'ūdī, who says: "The Franks, Slavs, Langobards, Spaniards, Gog and Magog, Turks, Khazars, Burgundians, Alans, Galicians, and other nations who live in the north, are descended from Japheth, the youngest son of Noah, as unanimously accepted by men of learning and the doctors of the law. Of all these people the Franks are the most warlike, the best defended against invasion, the best equipped, the most powerful in territory, where there are numerous cities, the best organized, the most subjected to the authority of their princes. It must be remarked, however, that the Galicians are even more warlike and more redoubtable than the Franks, since one Galician will stand out against several Franks. The Franks form one confederation, and there is among them no discord, no faction."[3]

There is even another evidence of an Arabic borrowing in connection with the Franks. After describing the appearance of the Franks in battle, which is cer-

[1] I. 82.
[2] W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894, p. 90.
[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 66 f.

tainly impossible for the sixth century, Agathias describes at length their *angones*, double-edged short spears, provided with barbs, which inflict severe wounds upon the enemy.[1] This is identical with the Arab. عنزه *'anazah* "a short spear, longer than a staff and shorter than a spear, having a pointed iron foot at the lower extremity, the point of an adz or ax, the long iron point of a long double-headed pickaxe." As we have also the form عكوز *'akūz* for "a staff having a pointed iron foot at the lower extremity upon which a man leans or stays himself," there is little doubt that we have here a derivative of Lat. *uncus* "a hook." But the particular spear and the form ἄγγω in Agathias, show that we have the description of an Arabic weapon. So, too, the description of the Persian kings is very much like that in Mas'ūdī. No doubt an investigation will disclose surprising Syriac or Arabic obligations. For our purposes Agathias is worthless, and the account of the "reges *criniti*," based as it is on the doubtful passage in Gregory of Tours, cannot be dissociated from the same aprocryphal source as the *capillati* in Jordanes.

We have thus found sufficient reason for ascribing, not only a Roman, but also a Greek past to the Germanic races. We can now turn to the discussion of the Gothic alphabet and of the runes.

Aethicus gives us an alphabet, which he claims to have invented. A glance at the table convinces us that his inventive genius was exercised only from the letter which stands for *l*, as the first ten letters are only transmogrifications of the first ten Greek numerals, written in cursive. It is true, the other letters are also ill-disguised Greek letters, but there is a break

[1] II. 5.

after *k*, for the Greek *α*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*, *ε*, *ϝ*, *ζ*, *η*, *ϑ*, *ι* stand respectively for *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, and Aethicus had to make a new start, where he gave the Greek letters, and not the numerals, the corresponding Latin values. Obviously Aethicus was handicapped, in the case of the first ten letters, by something which was already established.

It has been fully ascertained that the Arabs received their notion of the Hindu numerals from the Syrians, for Severus Sebokht mentioned the nine signs for the numerals as early as 662.[1] The Arabs considered the Hindu numerals as forming the basis of an Indian alphabet. We have the best account of this in Ibn Waḥšīyah,[2] who gives two forms of it, with a mnemonic arrangement by signs.[3] It will be observed that the nine signs are used for the *Abǧad* order of the Arabic alphabet, after which the next nine are indicated by dots, and in the second form by an additional circle. Similarly, the third series is indicated by two dots or two circles. It is not to be wondered at that the cipher sign for ten is not used, since it was not originally a numeric sign, but only the indication for an absent numeral. As Ibn Waḥšīyah wrote in the beginning of the tenth century, his speculation represents that of the ninth century or earlier. In any case, the Arabs believed that the nine numerals were used for the whole of the Hindu alphabet, or, at least, made up a secret Arabic alphabet on the basis of the Indian numerals.

[1] F. Nau, *La plus ancienne mention orientale des chiffres indiens*, in *Journal asiatique*, 10e série, vol. XVI, p. 225.

[2] J. Hammer, *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained, in the Arabic language by Ahmad Bin Abubekr Bin Wahshih*, London 1806, pp. 6–8; also in G. Flügel, *Kitâb-al-Fihrist*, Leipzig 1871, vol. I, p. 18 f., and the 17th *Rasāla* of vol. II of the Bombay edition of *Rasa ilu Iḫwān al-Ṣafā*.

[3] See table 4.

That the Greek numerals were similarly used in the West, from the Arabic example, is amply proved from an alphabet, which in Trithemius' *Polygraphia* is, according to Pseudo-Bede, ascribed to the ancient Norsemen. Here we have ια representing *l*, ιβ standing for *m*, ϰ for *u*, etc. The Greek alphabet, not in its numerical values, but as used in writing, had been used for cryptographic purposes, by merely changing at will the existing cursive letters. Berthelot[1] records two such alphabets, which are interesting to us because they show that they were formed by turning around or lengthening the existing cursive letters, each original letter remaining in its place. The alphabet of Aethicus shows remarkable resemblances to the two quoted by Berthelot, which is not accidental. When we recall that Aethicus betrays a thorough acquaintance with Graeco-Arabic alchemy, as we have observed in the case of the names of various kinds of earth used by him, we are prepared to find his alphabet modeled in the same way as are the Greek alchemists' alphabets.[2] The resemblance of the signs for *b*, *c*, *d* of Aethicus to those for β, γ, δ in the first Greek alphabet, and of *e* to that for ε in the second, is particularly striking. But it is not necessary to draw a very close analogy, as the whole alphabet of Aethicus is whimsical. All we need to observe is that α, β, γ, δ, ε, ϝ, ζ, η, ϑ, ι are present in Aethicus, and that ϰ has dropped out, because the original speculation was only on the first ten letters and the rest of the Greek letters were introduced later. Another important point is this, that ϑ is written with a downward stroke, and ι, arising from the long cursive ι with turnings at each end, has assumed a new and unusual form.

[1] *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris 1887, vol. I, p. 156.
[2] See table 3.

The two other alphabets from Pseudo-Bede,[1] given by Trithemius, although more fanciful, will, upon close inspection, appear as mere modifications of that of Aethicus. Thus, for example, the sign for *k* in the second is identical with that in Aethicus, while the first six letters of the first alphabet are but ill-disguised forms from the same source. For our purposes the most important is the alphabet which by Hunibald is ascribed to Wasthald,[2] and which Trithemius sagaciously guessed as being a transformation of the Greek alphabet, which order it followed. The relation of this alphabet to that of Aethicus is obvious in the case of the signs for *a*, *b*, *ē* (*η*), *th*, *i*, *t*, and those for *g*, *d*, *e*, *z*, *l*, *p*, *s*, *y*, are more nearly like those in the Greek, except that some of them are turned around. While all the previous alphabets show their obligations to the Greek cursive, this alphabet of Wasthald makes an attempt at aligning itself with the Greek uncial.

That the Gothic alphabet is merely a Greek normalization of Wasthald's alphabet, with the digamma replaced, appears beyond a shadow of doubt, when we look at the right hand alphabet in the Vienna Codex, discussed by Grimm,[3] for here *th* is represented by ϕ, as in Aethicus and Wasthald, from which develops the sign ψ, in Codex No. 140[4] and elsewhere in Gothic. This latter codex in unusually interesting, because it shows better than anything the relation of the Gothic alphabet to that of Wasthald and Aethicus. *B* is here represented as ℓ ϐ ʋ, where we have various approaches to Aethicus and Wasthald on the one side, and the Greek on the other. Similarly, one form of *e* is ‹-›, which shows at a glance its relation to Aethicus' ⊬. In these Gothic alphabets, the Greek ε has

[1] See table 3.
[2] See table 3.
[3] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. XLIII, p. 1 f. See table 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

been brought back in the normalization and ȝ, which is obviously a development of the *i* in Wasthald and Aethicus, itself the descendant of cursive long *i*, has assumed its value of *γ* before a vowel.

I have already referred to the two Norsemen's alphabets in Pseudo-Bede. It is perfectly clear that they represent a stage in the development of the runes. Now it is the first, now the second, which explains all the varieties of runes which we have. If we look at tables 1 and 3, we shall see at once the runes arose from the numerical values of the Greek alphabet, as it appears in cursive, and as it was transformed by the alchemists. The signs for *a* and *b* need no discussion, because their derivation from the Greek or Latin is obvious, but the sign for *a* is reversed as compared with Wasthald's and Aethicus' shape. *C* everywhere represents Greek *γ*, but in some, as, for example, in *Cod. Exon.*, the second stroke is downward. *D* is interesting: in Wasthald it is the Greek capital letter, in Aethicus it is a form of the cursive *δ*, which, being generally written *ꝺ* in the eighth century, produced ꝺ in Pseudo-Bede, and in most of the runic alphabets appears in the square form ᛞ, while some give it halved, as ᚦ. Similarly, *e*, from Greek *ε*, written in cursive ϵ', ϵ', etc., produced, as we have seen, ᚺ in Wasthald, ᚲ in one Gothic alphabet, and forms of ᛗ in the runes. *F* is the Greek digamma, which in some runic alphabets is written ᚠ, and under the influence of the Latin, produced forms of *F*. *G* naturally is represented by Greek *ζ*, the numerical value of which is 8; but *ζ* is cursively represented by a form resembling OIrish *g*, or by a Latin *z* crossed, which differs in form but little from *x*, hence we have in one Pseudo-Bede a *z* form, in another, a simple *x*, and the latter predominates in the runes; in the Gothic alphabet it has been normalized back to a

Greek γ. *I* is represented either by ι, or by a long *i*, or, as in the Gothic, and in Aethicus and Pseudo-Bede for *k*, by a form of Greek cursive long ι. Greek ϑ, which has the numerical value of 9, and appears as ϕ in Gothic, and in Wasthald and Aethicus with the value of the ninth letter, namely, *i*, is not represented in the runes. The letter for *k* gave the makers of the runes trouble, because, as we have already observed in the case of Aethicus and Wasthald, it was crowded out by the Greek decimal order of the letters; hence some give it distinctly the shape of *c*, that is, of Greek γ, while others give it as a modified *g*, that is, a modified *x*, and the Gothic reintroduced the Greek $\varkappa$. The rest of the letters are distinctly related to the corresponding Greek cursive letters, as table 3 shows. There is, however, one letter which represents especial interest, and that is ASaxon *wēn*, which has the value of *w*, Gothic *huun*, which has the value of *hv*. In the Vienna Codices it occupies the place of the Greek digamma, which it really is, the normalized *f* retaining the position of Greek φ in one of these alphabets.

There cannot be the slightest doubt as to the relation subsisting between the runes, the Gothic alphabet, and those of Aethicus and Wasthald, on the one hand, and the Greek cursive of the alchemists, influenced by the Hindu numerical speculations, on the other. Obviously this relation can be established only through the Arabic introduction into Europe of the Hindu numerals, which we have already met with in Pseudo-Boetius and in Virgil Maro.[1] But, if this is so, what becomes of all the cherished theories as regards the antiquity of the runes? The whole elaborate structure collapses at a stroke, hence it is necessary to investigate what we really know about the runes.

[1] See my *Contributions*, vol. I, p. 7 ff.

F. Burg, who did not for a moment doubt the antiquity of the runes, was led to investigate the matter from a purely objective standpoint.[1] He observed that the date of the inscription on the golden horn of Gallehus was originally established by the archaeologists, who kept removing it farther and farther back, without assigning any adequate reason for such a removal.[2] His own linguistic study of this inscription led him to the conclusion that the date can be established only relatively, that is, as regards the date of the Ulfilas translation of the Bible, wherefore he placed the golden horn of Gallehus not farther back than 500,[3] and the golden bracteates somewhere between 450 and 750.[4] But, as I have already shown that the Gothic Bible was written near 800, the whole fabric of the runic chronology collapses, and has to be built up anew.

We have also other proofs of the close relationship between the runes and the Hindu numerical system as introduced by the Arabs. Ibn Waḥšīyah[5] mentions an alphabet of Dioscorides, the philosopher, commonly called the Tree alphabet, with which he wrote on trees, shrubs, and herbs, and he also has another alphabet, which he calls that of Plato, having resemblances to the Tree alphabet.[6] Both are in the *Abǧad* order, and the first, which is of especial interest to us, consists of letters composed of a central shaft, having one to eight strokes on the right, and one to four strokes on the left. It accounts for all the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, but as of the class having four strokes on the left only four letters are used, it is clear that the original alphabet provided only for an alphabet of

[1] *Die älteren nordischen Runeninschriften*, Berlin 1885.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

24 letters, which was arranged in three classes of eight letters each. The forms of these letters and the division into three classes of eight letters, are identical with the Tree-runes of the Maeshow inscription.[1] It is impossible to assume, as did R. R. Brash,[2] that the Arabs learned this from the Scandinavians. Only the reverse is probable, namely, that the Scandinavians received it, together with the other runes, from the Arabs, through Wasthald, Aethicus, and other forgers. The arrangement of these Germanic Tree-runes is apparently identical with the *futhork* arrangement of the runes. I cannot ascertain the reason for this arrangement, but it is clear that the alphabet was divided into three classes of eight, to serve for cryptographic purposes. It is, no doubt, not accident that the Irish Ogham alphabet gives to each of its letters a tree value. This stands in some relation to the Tree-alphabet of the Arabs. But this needs a thorough investigation. Whatever the origin of the Ogham may prove to be, this much is certain: the Germanic runes and the Gothic alphabet did not exist before the eighth century, and ultimately owe their origin to the Arabico-Gothic culture.

[1] L. F. A. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, Berlin 1887, p. 238 f.
[2] *The Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil*, London 1879, p. 369.

THE *GERMANIA* OF TACITUS.

A number of passages in the *Germania* have already been shown to proceed from a forger. We can now review the whole and discuss the borrowings and forgeries in detail.

Chapter II contains the genealogy of Pseudo-Berosus and the absurd statement that the Germans were first called Tungri and then Germans again. This has already been discussed in full.

In chapter III we have not only the statement that Ulysses came to Germany and there built Asciburgium, but also the assertion that the Germans worship Hercules, whom, above all others, they mention in their songs when they are about to go to battle.[1] The passage in Dio Chrysostom which speaks of the respect paid by the Borysthenitae to Homer, has the identical statement.[2] In Dio Chrysostom there follows what may be an interpolation, in which there is a reference to Tyrtaeus, who had the same effect upon the Lacedaemonians.

This may have added to the forger's continuation in the *Germania* about the Germans, who sing their songs, called *barritus*, in order to incite the mind to victory and to frighten the enemy, *when the line has sounded.* The sound of the battlecry is increased by putting the shield to the mouth and vibrating it.[3]

[1] "Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt."

[2] «Μόνου γὰρ Ὁμήρου μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν εἰώθασι λέγειν, ἀεὶ δὲ ὁπόταν μέλλωσι μάχεσθαι,» J. de Arnim, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 3 f.

[3] "Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *barritum* vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur. terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam vocis ille quam

This whole description is cribbed out of Vegetius, *De re militari*, where it says that the battlecry, which is called *barritus*, must not be raised *until the lines have joined on both sides*, because the enemy is frightened most when the horror of the noise is increased by the striking of the weapons. But first of all the line must be properly arranged.[1] The clumsy forger misunderstood the statement about what *the line* must do before the battlecry is raised, and assumed that *ictu telorum* "the striking of the weapons" meant the repercussion of the shields caused by putting them against the mouth.

Ammianus, too, took a liking to the word. He tells the story of the Cornuti and Braccati of the Roman army, who raised the *barritus*, in order to frighten the Alamanni. This *barritus* begins with a whisper and grows to an enormous din.[2] According to him it is a foreign word,[3] but he describes its use in the Roman army precisely in the sense of Vegetius. After the line has approached on either side, the fighters look at each other fiercely, and the Romans, singing martial songs, beginning in low voices and becoming louder, produce what is called by the gentiles *barritus*,

virtutis concentus videtur. affectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur. obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat."

[1] "Clamor autem (quem *barritum* vocant) prius non debet attolli, quam acies utraque se iunxerit. Imperitorum enim, vel ignavorum est, vociferari de longe; cum hostes magis terreantur, si cum telorum ictu clamoris horror accesserit. Semper autem studere debes, ut prior instruas aciem, quia ex arbitrio tuo potes facere, quod tibi utile iudicas, cum nullus obsistit: deinde et tuis auges confidentiam, et adversariis fiduciam minuis: quia fortiores videntur, qui provocare non dubitant. Inimici autem incipiunt formidare, qui vident contra se acies ordinari. Huic additur maximum commodum, quia tu instructus paratusque ordinantem et trepidum adversarium praeoccupas. Pars enim victoriae est, inimicum turbare antequam dimices," III. 18.

[2] "Cornuti enim et Braccati usu proeliorum diuturno firmati eos iam gestu terrentes *barritum* ciere uel maximum: qui clamor ipso feruore certaminum a tenui susurro exoriens paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum cautibus inlisorum," XVI. 12. 43.

[3] "Pro terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt *barritum*," XXVI. 7. 17.

while the barbarians sing the praises of their ancestors.[1] That this account of Ammianus is a forgery, together with the account in Tacitus, is shown by the fact that both confuse *barritus* with *barditus*, a derivative from *bardus* "a bard," and make the soldiers sing martial songs as they proceed into battle. But in the *Germania* this mistake was caused by the quotation from Dio Chrysostom, and, possibly, from the reference to Tyrtaeus, where, indeed, the Greeks go into battle singing battle-songs.

This *barritus* found its way into the vocabularies, where it is glossed as "clamor elephantis,"[2] etc., while we have "*barrit* elephans cum vocem dat," and similar explanations. Virgil Maro somewhere read *clephans* for "elephans" and took it to mean "emitting a sound," wherefore he made from it a verb *clefare* "to speak out," *clefium* "a sound."[3] That this is really the origin of this strange word is proved by the various forms which *elephans* has assumed in the *Codex Vaticanus 3321* glosses. We have in the *Amplonianum Primum* and *Secundum*, in Goetz, "barrit *eleuans* cum uoce emittit," in *Codex Cassinensis 90*, "borrit uoce *eleuat.*" The latter shows that the word *elephans* was not generally understood, and was taken to be a participle of some verb, with the meaning "to call, shout." It entered into OHGerman as *claffon*

[1] "Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes gressu steterunt immobili, toruitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. et Romani quidem uoce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad maiorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant *barritum*, uires ualidas erigebant. barbari uero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis, interque uarios sermonis dissoni strepitus leuiora proelia temptabantur," XXXI. 7. 11.

[2] Already in Vegetius: "Elephanti in praeliis magnitudine corporum, *barritus* horrore, formae ipsius nouitate, homines equosque conturbant," III. 24.

[3] "Literarum autem numerus omnibus tritus est; figura quoque palculis patet. de potestate autem, quia magna ex parte legestum est, bigerro sermone *clefabo*," J. Huemer, *Virgilii Maronis Grammatici opera*, Lipsiae 1886, p. 8; "male quidam loquelas in elocutione intelligi uolunt, cum loquelae diminutiuae sunt quasi simplicia *clefia*," *ibid.*, p. 21.

"to emit a sound," and into ASaxon as *clepian, cleopian, clypian* "to make a sound, call."

The hodge-podge borrowing by the forger is illustrated throughout the *Germania.* A few examples will suffice. In chapters VII and VIII the forger says that the kings were chosen on account of their nobility and the leaders on account of their bravery, but that no one could punish, except the priests, not as though at the command of the leader, but as though by the command of God, who, they thought, was present with the fighter; and the men carried certain standards, which they had taken from the forest, into the battle. The families of the fighters were near them, and many a time the defeated ranks were re-established by the women. The Germans considered their women to be divine, thence they did not neglect their vaticinations. As an example, Veleda may serve, who, in the time of Vespasian, was considered a goddess. But there were formerly other women, especially Albruna.

These chapters, as well as the next few, are based chiefly on Caesar's description of Gaul. The description of the *duces* is based on that of the *equites* among the Gauls, whose main occupation is war and who gather around them their clients and followers, in proportion as they exert military power. "This is the only source of influence and power that they are familiar with,"[1] as Caesar says. The forger has paraphrased this as follows: "Et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt."

The reference to the punishment meted out by the priests is taken out bodily from Caesar, who says that the Druids pass on nearly all public and private crimes and decree the appropriate punishment. Those

[1] VI. 15.

who are so punished are considered to have sinned against the divinity.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt, VII.	Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt, et si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, si de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur, VI. 13.

Then there follows a misquotation from Tacitus' *Historiae*, IV. 22.

Germania.	*Historiae.*
Effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt, VII.	Hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie obstupefecerant obsessos, IV. 22.

In the *Historiae* the reference is to standards which represent animals of the forests, while in the *Germania* these standards are represented as being brought out of the woods.

The vaticinations of the German women are mentioned in Caesar, I. 50, and this is one of the few genuine references to Germans in the *Germania*. Suetonius mentions a soothsaying Chatta woman,[1] who was telling Vitellius his fortune; but it does not follow from this that the German women were more especially addicted to fortune-telling than any other women. The story about Veleda, Albruna, and Ganna,

[1] *Vitellius*, XIV.

who are given as German women who told fortunes, belongs to the Arabic period, that is, it arose only in the eighth century. Prophetesses are mentioned in all the chronicles. We find, among others, Deborra and Anna in *Chronographus anni CCCLIIII.*[1] In one edition of this work two Annas are mentioned: "Anna mater Samuhelis et alia Anna que genuit Mariam, de qua Christus natus est." *Deborra* is naturally coupled with *Barach,*[2] and is frequently mentioned in Arabic sources, as, for example, in Mas'ūdī[3] and Tabari,[4] where she is called *Ḍīwān*, a mere misreading, through faulty diacritical marks, of دبورا as ديوان.

There is a reference both to Veleda and to Ganna in the *Excerpta Ursiniana* of Dio Cassius, which runs as follows: "*Ὅτι Μάσυος ὁ Σεμνόνων βασιλεὺς καὶ Γάννα (παρθένος ἦν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα) ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανόν, καὶ τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχόντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν.*"[5]

[1] *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. IX, p. 133.

[2] "Sub eo propetetavit Deborra uxor Lapidod de tribu Effrem et per ipsam ducatum gessit Barac Aminoen de tribu Neptalim. hic denuntiavit Iabin regi et occidit eum et regnavit iudicans cum Debborra ann. XL," *ibid.*, p. 117; "sub isto prophetavit Deborra uxor Lafiu et per ipsam tenuit principatum filiorum Israhel Barach ille de Aminoem de tribu Neptalim. iste pugnavit contra Sisara principe Iabis et superavit eum: et regnavit super filios Israhel iudicans eos Deborra cum Barach annos XL. fiunt simul anni quattuor milia CXI. In diebus autem Deborra et Barach omnes dedena scribuntur esse. Athineorum autem tunc regnavit Cecrops, qui vocabatur dipsyis, annos L: dipsyis autem vocabatur, quia statura procerus erat," *ibid.*; "deinde Debbora iudicavit eos annis XL. huius temporibus fugit Sisarra in domo Iail, 'quem ipsa Iail' occidit de palo tabernaculi sui persequente Barach principe militiae," *Liber genealogus anni CCCCLII, ibid.*, p. 188; "Debbora cum Barac ann XL, ex quibus sunt ann XXX, quibus post obitum Aod Hebreos alienigenae habuere subiectos. fuit autem Debbora ex tribu Efrem, Barac vero ex tribu Neptalim," *Prosperi Tironis epitoma chronicon, ibid.*, p. 389; "Deborra an. XL prophetissa de tribu Effraim, cum Barach de tribu Nepthalim, cuius in initio ducatus obpressit filios Israhel Iabin rex Chanaan XX an., qui regnabat in Asor. sed occiso ab Israel principe militiae eius Sisara humiliatus tandem ac deletus est," *Bedae chronica, ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 259.

[3] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 102.

[4] H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari*, Paris 1867, vol. I, p. 413.

[5] LXVII. 5. 3, Boissevain, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

These excerpts are of Spanish provenience and are older than the tenth century, because the identical phrase is found in Suidas; but they are worthless for the determination of what was in Dio Cassius' original. Indeed, the reference to Ganna and Veleda as *παρθένοι* shows at once that by the second Deborah is meant, for *Veleda* is the Arab. ولیدة *valīḍah παρθένος*, "young woman." There can be no doubt, therefore, that we have here an account from an Arabic or Spanish source, where Veleda is made to be Celtic, instead of Jewish. We also find Veleda in the *Siluae* of Statius,[1] but as all the editions go back to one copy, supposedly found by Poggio at St. Gall, and are all interpolated,[2] it is quite useless to quote this occurrence of *Veleda* in support of its genuineness. This leaves us all alone with Tacitus.

In the *Historiae* we are told that this maiden ruled over the Bructeri, and her authority was great, because she had predicted victory to the Germans and the destruction of the Roman legions.[3] She was inaccessible, and her prophecies were announced from a tower and carried by intermediaries.[4]

Here we have an Arabic transformation of the Jewish tradition. In the Bible, *Deborah* prophesies at the same time that *Barak* rules over the people; in the tradition, Barak is her husband.[5] In the Bible,

[1] "Captiuaeque preces Ueledae," I. 4. 90.

[2] E. Baehrens, *P. Papinii Statii Siluae*, Lipsiae 1876, p. VI f.

[3] "Munius Lupercus legatus legionis inter dona missus *Velaedae*. ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas. tuncque *Velaedae* auctoritas adolevit: nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat," IV. 61.

[4] " 'Arbitrum habebimus Civilem et *Velaedam*, apud quos pacta sancientur.' sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem ac *Velaedam* missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. sed coram adire adloquique *Velaedam* negatum: arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. ipse edita in turre; delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat," IV. 65. See also V. 22, 24.

[5] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1913, vol. IV, p. 34 ff.

Deborah prophesies under a palm tree; in the tradition, she dispenses judgment in the open air, for it was not becoming that men should visit a woman in her house.[1] In Tacitus, *Veleda* rules over the *Bructeri*, who are here made a nation out of *Barak*, even as *mater Samuelis* becomes in the *Excerpta Ursiniana* *Μάσυος ὁ Σεμνόνων*, and *Anna* (through the Arab. ﺣﻨﺔ) becomes *Ganna;* and, in accordance with Moslem prejudice, Veleda does not leave her tower, lest she should meet men face to face, but sends her judgments through her relatives. In the *Germania* we are told that Veleda was by many considered as divine, and that formerly there had been Albruna and several other women who had been venerated. I have already shown that *Albruna* is of Arabic origin.[2] Although it is not certain that Trithemius gives us the precise contents of Hunibald's history, it is very likely that his description of the *aliruna*[3] is taken directly from Hunibald. She is represented as a necromancer and a Sybil. It is most likely that the forger of the *Germania* had Hunibald in mind when to Veleda of the *Historiae* he added his Albruna.

Chapter IX of the *Germania* begins with cribbings from Caesar, where again the religion of the Gauls is described. Then there follows the statement that the Suevi sacrificed to Isis, and that the emblem of Isis, the ship, indicated that the religion was brought from abroad. This statement is as meaningless as the following, that the Germans did not place their gods within walls or give them the human form, "ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur." They consecrated groves and called by the names of the gods the secret places, which they held in reverence.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[2] See p. 90.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

The whole looks like a paraphrase of the religion of the Jews in *Historiae*, V. 5, where it says that the Jews understood their divinity only with the mind, and considered those profane who represented the images of the gods in mortal form; hence they placed no images in their cities or in their temples, and worshiped neither kings nor Caesars.[1] Now it is precisely of the Jews that the *Historiae* say that one theory considered them to be a colony from Egypt, when that country, during the reign of Isis, overflowing with inhabitants, poured forth its redundant numbers under the conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda.[2] Just as Deborah became a German prophetess, so the *Judaei* became *Suevi*, and Isis was a goddess brought to the people from afar.

Chapter X deals with the German method of divination. "Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots, is conducted with a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavorable, there ends all consultation for that day: if,

[1] "Aegyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur; Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt: profanos, qui deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum. igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt; non regibus haec adulatio, non Caesaribus honor."

[2] "Quidam regnante Iside exundantem per Aegyptum multitudinem ducibus Hierosolymo ac Iuda proximas in terras exoneratam," V. 2.

on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices.'"[1] This method is identical with the one in Herodotus, IV. 67: "Scythia has an abundance of soothsayers, who foretell the future by means of a number of willow wands. A large bundle of these wands is brought and laid on the ground. The soothsayer unties the bundle, and places each wand by itself, at the same time uttering his prophecy: then, while he is still speaking, he gathers the rods together again, and makes them up once more into a bundle. This mode of divination is of home growth in Scythia."[2] Ammianus, too, tells of the use of willow sticks for divination by the Alani.[3] Bede tells of the use of *sortes* by the Saxons in their choice of a leader,[4] and *mittunt sortes*, used by him, is translated by Alfred as "hluton hi mid *tanum*," and *sors ostenderit* by "se *tān* atywde," that is, "sors" is translated by *tān* "twig." In the *Leges Frisonum* there is also reference to divination with twigs, called *teni*.[5]

This word for "twig" is found in all the Germanic languages, from which, however, it has almost entirely disappeared in its original meaning. We have in Gothic *tains* "twig," *tainjo* "basket." In ONorse we have *teinn* "a divining wand, spit, stake, stripe," and *teinur* "basket, creel." In ASaxon we have at an early time *tenil* and *stic-taenil* "fiscellus." The latter compound shows that an osier basket is meant. In OHGerman we get *zain*, *zein* "calamus, canna, sarmentum, regula," and *zainja*, *ceine*, etc., "basket." *Zain* obviously meant also "a sharp metal stick," hence we have

[1] Quoted from Murphy's translation.
[2] IV. 67, quoted from G. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus*, London 1859, vol. III, p. 56.
[3] "Futura miro praesagiunt modo. nam rectiores uirgas uimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt," XXXI. 2. 24.
[4] *Historia ecclesiastica*, V. 10.
[5] W. C. Grimm, *Ueber deutsche Runen*, Göttingen 1821, p. 296 ff.

zainjan "in fila ducere, to make wire, forge thin sticks." From this we get the verb *zeinjan* "to point out, show," used almost exclusively by Otfrid. Hence ONorse *tína* "to pick, recount, narrate" is certainly derived from ONorse *teinn* "twig." Dialectically we have Ger. *Zaine* "basket" and *Zain* "withe, rod, wire," hence *zainen* "to make wire;" hence Eng. *tine* "prong" is most certainly derived from the AS. *tān* "rod."

The Greek and Latin have the root *can-* for both "rod, reed" and "basket," such as *κάννα*, *καυών*, *κάνεον*, *canna*, *canalis*, *canister*, all of which are related to the Assyr. *qanū*, "reed, staff, measure of length." But into the Semitic languages there enter sporadically words from this root, not from the Assyrian, but from the Egyptian. In Egyptian we have not only *kanen* "sugarcane," but also *ṭena*, *ṭenu* "basket, a dry measure," which produces Heb. תֶּנֶא *tene*, Chald. צְנָא *zene* "basket," hence Talm. טוּנָא *tūnā* "burden, weight," תֶּנִי *tĕnī* "a large metal container," צִנָּא *zinnā* "basket, woven container," already found in the Bible as צִנְצֶנֶת *zinzeneṭ*. From these come Arab. صن *sin* "basket," طن *tinn*, طن *tunn* "a bundle of reeds or canes, a leafy bundle put together and bound round, and having flowers, or blossoms, and plucked fruits put in the interior thereof," طن *tann* "a half load, such as is borne on one side of a beast."

Thus we see that it is only in Arabic that the idea of a living twig, with its leaves and blossoms, has developed, apparently from the way the fruit was transported in freshly plucked twigs, in order to preserve its freshness as long as possible. Hence it is most certain that Goth. *tains*, which refers several times to living grapevine, and *tainjo* "basket," are

derived from the Arabic, through the new method of transporting fruit, and have been transmitted to the other Germanic languages. When the writer who first employed the passage in Herodotus for a Germanic forgery, or possibly his Arabic prototype, found the reference to *ῥάβδοι ἰτέϊναι*, he at once jumped to the conclusion that *ἰτέϊναι* was identical with Arab. *tinn*, and so created the divination by a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, "virgam, frugiferae arbori decisam."

The remaining divinations of chapter X in the *Germania* are of no avail, because they are quite universal, and are widely recorded. But in the next chapter we have again an example of the forger's hodge-podge method. According to him, the Germans meet on certain days in the first quarter or at the full of the moon, because they consider this time most auspicious for transacting business. They do not count time by days, but by nights, for night seems to lead the day. This is all cribbed out from Caesar's description of the Gauls, and from a reference to Ariovistus.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur.	Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur, VI. 18. Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quamobrem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent, I. 50.

All the elaborate account in chapter XI about the manner in which the Germans proceed in public matters is a mere verbose elaboration of what Caesar tells of the Gauls, with an occasional reference to what he

says of the Germans. The forger says that the princes decide only in minor matters, whereas in matters of greater import all are consulted. They sit armed, and the priest orders silence. Then the prince and the nobles give their opinion. Dissent is expressed by a murmur, assent, by beating the spears, because it is most honorable to give assent with arms. They are slow to convene, and this fault arises from their freedom.

Caesar says that the magistrates conceal those matters which may disturb the masses, hence no one is allowed to speak of public matters except in the council.[1] We have already heard that it is the priests who decide public matters. We are also told that there is one chief Druid, whose authority is absolute, and that all those who have any dispute go to the seat of the chief Druid and obey his commands.[2] From this it follows clearly that the silence in the council could be broken only when the presiding Druids gave the command. But of the Germans we are told that in times of peace they have no common magistrate, but the chiefs of the villages and districts pronounce judgment and *diminish* the controversies. From this it follows that in time of peace, that is, in affairs of minor importance, the chiefs decide controversies, but not when war, that is, a matter of greater importance, is at hand. Hence they then choose a magistrate, who has the power of life or death in his hands.[3] But we learned from the manner of conducting a council among the Gauls, that it was the magistrate who enforced silence in public matters. Hence we have the perfectly correct inference that in major affairs it was not the chiefs who decided, but all, that is, the

[1] VI. 20.
[2] VI. 13.
[3] "Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur," VI. 23.

council. Now, who constituted the council of the Gauls? We are told that the plebs had no voice at all in public matters, but that they were all decided by the *equites*, the men of war,—at least, this is the only inference possible from the division of the Gauls into Druids, knights, and plebs. The knights are always busy with affairs of war, and their power rests solely on the number of warriors they can command.[1] From this it follows that it is most honorable to determine matters in the council by means of the weapons. This is, indeed, made necessary, since speech is not allowed, except by special permission of the priests. The reference to the slowness with which the Germans convene or transact business is taken from the reference to Ariovistus, who was not in any hurry to continue battle, because their women had told them that it would not be propitious if begun before the full moon.[2]

Thus the whole account of the German council is based on the hodge-podge method of quoting from Caesar.

Chapter XII is a continuation of the same hodge-podge. We are told here that in the councils they choose the chiefs, who speak the law in the districts and villages. This is precisely what we were told of the Germans by Caesar, only that the forger did not notice that it was the chief magistrates who are chosen at the council, and not the chiefs, who in peace time pronounce judgment.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt.	Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt, VI. 23.

[1] VI. 15.
[2] I. 50.

We are told that the chiefs are accompanied by hundreds from the plebs, to add counsel and authority. That is precisely what we are told in Caesar of the Gaulish *equites*.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, assunt.	Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut illatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur, atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt, VI. 15.

The forger says that accusations leading to capital punishment were preferred at the council, and that various punishments were inflicted: traitors were hanged, cowards were drowned in swamps, and lighter offences were punished by weregeld, of which part was paid to the king or state, and part to the person offended or his family. In the hit or miss process of establishing ancient customs, the forger may have guessed something correctly. There would be nothing strange in hanging traitors and drowning cowards, since these are fairly universal customs, and certainly weregeld is recorded in the later Germanic laws. But I have already shown that the composition for crimes and the payment to the king or state arose after the third century from Roman laws,[1] and even the composition in horses, instead of money, is amply accounted for by the *fredum*, which is of the same Roman origin; hence it is totally impossible for Tacitus to have even distantly represented the condition of German law in his time. The statement about the fine which is

[1] *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, p. 142 ff. On p. 157 I cautiously adduced Tacitus as a proof that the blood feud may have existed in his time among the Germans. Now that the *Germania* appears as a downright forgery, my discussion of *fredum*, *faida* gains enormously in cogency.

divided between the state and the offended party can only be based on conditions existing in the sixth and later centuries.

After speaking of the fines, the forger actually quotes Caesar as regards the duties of the *principes*.

Tacitus.	Caesar.
Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt.	Principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt, VI. 23.

This time the reference is to a real German custom, but, alas, the election of the chief in a council is obviously borrowed from the Druids, who alone are represented by Caesar as deciding in council matters of public importance.

In chapter XIII we have the watered stock of Caesar's account about the treatment of the children of the Gauls. Caesar says that the Gauls differ from all others, in that they do not allow the children to come into their presence until they have become old enough to bear arms, and that it is considered disgraceful to allow the boys to appear in public with their fathers.[1] We have already heard that it is only the *equites*, that is, the men in arms, who appear at the councils. This led the forger to say: "A German transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed. The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly, where one of the chiefs, or his father, or some near relation, provides him with a shield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown: the youth from the moment ranks as a citizen: till then he was considered as part of the household; he is now a member of the commonwealth."

[1] VI. 18.

Similarly, the statement in Caesar that the glory of an *eques* consists in having as many followers about him as possible,[1] only produces the obvious plagiarism: "The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his companions. In that consists his dignity; to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark." More than that. It gives the forger a chance to expatiate on the young men, who form the *comitatus* of the princes: "In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions." What is much worse—the sentence, "ut munus militiae sustinere possint," in the description of the boys who are admitted into their fathers' presence,[2] was understood by the stupid forger to mean "when the time has come for them to receive the *gifts* connected with military service," and has produced the following: "Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. *He receives presents* from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war."

[1] VI. 15.
[2] VI. 18.

Nor is the forger satisfied with this expansion. He remembers a particular case of the *comitatus* in Caesar, about the Gaulish *devoti*, called *soldurii*, who enjoy the same advantages in life as those to whose friendship they have devoted themselves, and who commit suicide if their chief is killed.[1] This, connected with the statement of Caesar that the Germans do not busy themselves with agriculture,[2] produces the whole of chapter XIV in the *Germania:* "In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his companions; and not to vie with him in martial deeds is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine a train of dependants cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy,

[1] III. 22.
[2] VI. 22.

and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you might gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier."

With a little patience one may find the origin of all the romantic account of the Germans in Caesar's *De bello gallico.* I have shown enough to prove that the forger combined rascality with a ready wit and a certain amount of linguistic stupidity in his retelling of Caesar. I shall now proceed to investigate those parts which show unmistakable Arabic influence, thus definitely locating the forgery after 711.

Caesar tells of the ox that resembles a stag, but has only one horn in the middle, with spreading branches. The male and the female have the same nature, both having the same sized horn. *There are also those which are called elks.*[1] It must be noticed that the last sentence has nothing whatsoever to do with the unicorn, for it is the beginning of the account of the elks. But the forger included it in the account of the ox, which he transmogrified so completely that it would have remained totally unrecognized as a plagiarism, if it were not for this last sentence, and the localization of the account in the *Germania* among the Naharvali.

"Among the Naharvali there is shown a grove famous for its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. They worship as gods those who by the Romans are called Castor and Pollux. Such is the meaning of the divinity—its name being *Alcis.* There are, indeed, no idols in their country, no traces of

[1] "Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter aures unum cornu exsistit excelsius magisque directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus; ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum. Sunt item, quae appellantur alces," VI. 26 f.

foreign superstition, but they are venerated as brothers, as youths."[1]

In Sanskrit we have the name of the rhinoceros as *khaḍga*, *khaḍgin*, and of the female rhinoceros, *khaḍga-dhenu*, "the sword, horn of the rhinoceros." Of the Indian origin of this word there cannot be any doubt, because *kaḍ*, *kaṭ*, *khaṭ*, *khaḍ* are fundamental roots, which mean "to cut, sharp," in the Dravidian, as well as in the Semitic languages, and many Sanskrit words are derived, apparently through the Dravidian, from this family. When and how this Sanskrit word for "rhinoceros" first entered the languages of the West would demand a special investigation, but it is certain that Aelian already knew it, for he not only describes the rhinoceros as an Indian animal, but also gives it an Indian name.

"They say that there are mountains in the interior of India, which are inaccessible to man and abounding in animals, which are domesticated with us, but there are in a wild state. . . . The historians and the wise men of the Indians, including the Brahmans, who agree on this point, say that there is an innumerable number of these beasts. Among these animals is the Monokeron, which by them is called *Kartazonon*, which is of the size of a full grown horse, and has a mane and yellow hair, excels in swiftness of foot, and, like an elephant, has undivided hoofs and has the tail of a boar. It has between the eyes one black horn, which ends in a sharp spear point. I understand it makes a most peculiar sound, and that it is meek towards other animals which approach it, but fights its own kind. And not only do they fight with the males, but

[1] "Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu; sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini: nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium. ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur," XLIII.

also with the females, whom they fight to a finish, for they are powerful in body and are provided with an invincible horn. It roams through the deserts, and stays solitary. In breeding time it becomes tame towards its mate, but when the mate has conceived, it again begins to roam by itself."[1]

Even though Ctesias and Aristotle knew the animal long before Aelian, there can be no doubt that Aelian's description, which is fairly correct for that of the rhinoceros, is taken from an Indian account, nor could it well be otherwise, since the one-horned rhinoceros is not found outside of India and the islands to the south. Indeed, the reference to the solitary habit of the rhinoceros is expressed in Sanskrit, where it is also called *eka-cara* "wandering or living alone." Near approaches to the Sanskrit form are found in Coptic *χarkinos*, apparently through a Greek form, as the ending would indicate. We already find the Sanskrit name in Assyrian inscriptions, where it is given as *kurkizannu*, that bears a remarkable resemblance to *καρταζών* of Aelian, and *khaḍga-dhenu* of the Indians. From the Assyrian it passed into the other Semitic languages. We have Arab. كركدن *karkaḍan* and كركند *karkanḍ*. But *καρταζών*, or *καρκαζών*, or a form nearer to the Sanskrit word, has produced a large variety of forms of which the last letter is *s*, or a sound like it. We have in the Talmud קֶרֶשׁ *qereš*, in Arabic حريش *ḥarīš*, Aethiopic *ḥarīs* "the one-horned animal," usually "the rhinoceros,"

The Pers. *karg*, *kargadan* show their Sanskrit origin clearly, and are, no doubt, the forms from which the Arab. *karkaḍan* was formed. But there is also a form *arj*, which is close enough to Arab. حريش *ḥarīš*, and

[1] XVI. 20.

which is represented in the *Bundehesh* by the forms *ariz*, *arez*. But this refers only to the large one-horned fish, *kar*, wherefore it is called *māhī(k)arez*, literally "water-unicorn," or *kar-māhī(k)* "the kar-fish," which is considered to be the chief of all fish. It is this Middle-Persian word which has enriched the Arabic with two more unicorn words, namely, مرميس *marmīs*, and هرميس *harmīs*. There is also recorded in Arabic a form مراج *miraǵ*[1] "a one-horned hare."

That the latter Arabic words in the eighth century were applied to a sea-monster, even as in the *Bundehesh*, is proved by the legend of the unicorn of the Merovingians. In Fredegar's *Chronicle* there is an account which explains the origin of the Merovingians from *Meroveus* or *Meroheus*, who was conceived by his mother from a sea-monster.[2] This mythical origin of the Merovingians has puzzled historians very much. It is obvious that the etymology of *Meroveus*, *Meroheus* must have been suggested by something connected with the sea-monster, a beast resembling a centaur, or something like it. We have in Fredegar's *Chronicle* also the account of a dream of Childeric's wife, Basina. On the first night after the marriage, Basina, before allowing Childeric to stay with her, sent him out to see what was taking place before the palace. At first he saw a vision of a lion, a unicorn, and a leopard. Then, imitating Daniel's vision, he saw other beasts. The conclusion was that a son would be born to them,

[1] S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1675, col. 941.

[2] "Fertur, super litore maris aestatis tempore Chlodeo cum uxore resedens, meridiae uxor ad mare labandum vadens, bistea Neptuni Quinotauri similis eam adpetisset. Cumque in continuo aut a bistea aut a viro fuisset concepta, peperit filium nomen Meroveum, per co regis Francorum post vocantur Merohingii," III. 9, *MGH., Scrip. rer. merov.*, vol. II, p. 95.

who would be like a lion, and his sons would be as strong as a leopard and a unicorn.[1]

The same story is told by Hunibald, who, however, puts more emphasis on the rhinoceros, that is, the unicorn,[2] which is mentioned as a generous beast. It is, therefore, clear that the first race of the Merovingians was related to the unicorn, and the name of *Meroveus* is in Fredegar to be derived from that monster of the sea that begat him from the wife of the king of the Franks.

If we now turn to the *Germania*, we find the unicorn of Caesar's account turned into a nation, the *Naharvali*. We see at a glance that *Narharvalus* is nothing but the *Narwhale*, the sea-unicorn of the Germanic languages. The *māhī-arez* or *māhī-arig*, which in Fredegar was used to explain the etymology of *Meroeus*, here turns up in the form of *naharvalus*. The etymology of *narwhale* has always been a puzzle, but it is obviously a corruption *maharvaeus*, or some such form, caused by the assumption that the last part is *valus*, the *wal*,

[1] "Cum prima nocte iugiter stratu iuncxissent, dicit ad eum mulier: 'Ac nocte a coitu virile abstenebimus. Surge secrecius, et quod videris ante aulas palaciae dicis ancillae tuae.' Cumque surrexisset, vidit similitudinem bisteis leonis, unicornis et leupardi ambolantibus. Reversusque, dixit muliere que viderat. Dicit ad eum mulier: 'Domini mi, vade dinuo, et quod videris narra ancillae tuae.' Ille vero cum foris adisset, vidit bysteas similitudinem ursis et lupis deambulantibus. Narrans et haec mulieri, conpellit eum tercio, ut iret et quod videbat nunciaret. Cumque tercio exisset, vidit bisteas minores similitudinem canis et minoribus bistiis ab invincem detrahentes et volutantes. Cumque Basinae haec universa narrasset, abstinentes se caste usque in crastinum, surgentes de stratu, dixit Basina ad Childericum: 'Que visibiliter vidisti viritate subsistunt. Haec interpretationem habent: Nascitur nobis filius fortitudinem leonis signum et instar tenens; filii viro eius leupardis et unicornis fortitudine signum tenent. Deinde generantur ex illis qui ursis et lupis fortitudinem et voracitatem eorum similabunt. Tercio que vidisti ad discessum columpna regni huius erunt, que regnaverint ad instar canibus et minoribus bisteis; eorum consimilis erit fortitudo. Pluretas autem minoribus bisteis, que ab invicem detrahentes volutabant, populos sine timore principum ab invicem vastantur,'" II. 12, *ibid.*, p. 97.

[2] Trithemius, *Opera historica*, p. 38 f.

walr of OHGerman, بال *bāl* of the Arabs, which means "whale," and is derived from LLat. *balaena*, *balaera* of the vocabularies.

The forger, mindful of the two putative parents of *Meroveus*, the king and the sea-monster, as told by Fredegar, created two gods for the Naharvali, whom he denominated Castor and Pollux. Caesar says that the nature of the male and female is the same. This led the forger to cause the priest to wear a woman's garments. "*Bos cervi* figura" apparently suggested to the forger *sacerdos*, which explains the transformation from the unicorn to the priest. What really, more than anything else, caused the forger to change the unicorn into Castor and Pollux, is the fact that these were frequently represented with radiating stars above their heads, and Caesar speaks of the radiating shape of the unicorn's horns.

The borrowing of the story in the *Germania* from Caesar is so obvious, as not to need even the forger's slip, *Naharvali* "the unicorns," in order to prove it. But the forger was such a fool or such a scoundrel that he gave himself away in still another way. He took Caesar's "sunt item, quae appellantur *alces*" to be a continuation of the story about the narwhale or unicorn, and went on to say that the name of the divinity was *alcis*, "ea vis numini, nomen *alcis*." Stupidity, it would seem, could go no further, but the forger managed to perpetrate still another unspeakable insipidity.

The rest of the story about the elk, namely, that it has no joints and cannot lie down and cannot get up if it does fall down, found its way into the *Germania*. Of course, it is now fairly well accepted that this story of the jointless elk, like that of the unicorn, is an interpolation in Caesar.[1] This only makes the case worse,

[1] W. W. Hyde, *The Curious Animals of the Hercynian Forest*, in *The Classical Journal*, vol. XIII, p. 231 ff.

because, if it is an interpolation in Caesar, it must have come considerably later than the time of Tacitus. And yet, Tacitus not only has made use of this jointless elk, but in the chapter in which he refers to the great author, the divine Caesar,[1] he discussed the Hercynian forest, which is intimately connected in Caesar with the story of the unicorn and the jointless elk.

The jointless elk, like the unicorn, is transformed into a Germanic tribe. "The Semnones are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a procession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that grovelling state makes his way out of the wood."[2] Just as the elk cannot lie down, or get up, if he has fallen down, so the Semnones have their legs tied, and, if they fall down, are not allowed to get up.

Immediately after this we are told of the Reudigni and other Suebian tribes, that they worship *Nerthus*, that is, Mother Earth, "whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times,

[1] XXVIII.
[2] Chapter XXXIX.

visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and re-conducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live. This part of the Suevian nation stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany."[1]

We have already found *Aretia* "Earth" in Pseudo-Berosus. It is obvious that this *Aretia* is no other than our *Nerthus*, *Herthus*, and it is also clear that the description of the worship of *Nerthus* is identical with that of Cybele in Ovid's *Fasti*, IV. 291 ff. and in other places.[2] The agreement is perfect. We have the same story of the washing of the chariot, which is drawn by cows, the sacred mantle, the gorgeously attired priest, the mysteries, the festivities, the officiating of freedmen. The only addition in the *Germania* is the

[1] Chapter XL.

[2] See Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, sub *Kybele* (römischer Kultus).

drowning of the slaves in the lake, which is evidently an elaboration of the emasculation, or, possibly, the taurobolium, with which the worship of Cybele was connected. But the form *Herthus*, *Nerthus*, which we find in the *Germania*, is, no doubt, due to the confusion of *Aretia* with *Aretium*, of which it is an etymon in Pseudo-Berosus. In any case it is a Semitic word, which entered the Germanic languages only in the eighth century.

The utter worthlessness of the *Germania* is patent, beyond any possibility of defence. Only the mentally blind will defend it, even as the nineteenth century forgeries, such as the notorious Koeninginhof Manuscript, still find advocates. It is sad to contemplate that Germanic history and allied subjects are based on the *Germania* and the *Getica*, two monuments of conscious fraud and unconscious stupidity, the result of the first flower of Arabic romance, which led to *The Thousand and One Nights*. One may as well reconstruct history from this latter work, as draw any historical conclusions whatsoever from the *Germania* and the *Getica*.

PSEUDO-VENANTIUS.

I.

In the present article, we shall undertake a historiological study of four musical terms, *leudus*, *harpa*, *rotta*, *crotta*, first found in writings attributed to Venantius Fortunatus.

1. Preface to Venantius' Poems:

Quid inter haec extensa viatica consulte dici potuerit, censor ipse mensura, ubi me non urguebat vel metus ex iudice vel probabat usus ex lege nec invitabat favor ex comite nec emendabat lector ex arte, ubi mihi tantundem valebat raucum gemere quod cantare apud quos nihil disparat aut stridor anseris aut canor oloris, sola saepe bombicans barbaros leudos arpa relidens; ut inter illos egomet non musicus poeta, sed muricus deroso flore carminis poema non canerem, sed garrirem, quo residentes auditores inter acernea pocula salute bibentes insana Baccho iudice debaccharent.[1]

2. Epistle to Count Lupus (traditional date, 573-4):

Sed pro me reliqui laudes tibi reddere certent,
Et qua quisque valet te prece voce sonet,
Romanusque lyra, plaudat tibi barbarus harpa,
Graecus Achilliaca, crotta Britanna canat.
Illi te fortem referant, hi iure potentem,
Ille armis agilem praedicet, iste libris.
Et quia rite regis quod pax et bella requirunt,
Iudicis ille decus concinat, iste ducis.
Nos tibi versiculos, dent barbara carmina leudos:
Sic variante tropo laus sonet una viro.
Hi celebrem memorent, illi te lege sagacem:
Ast ego te dulcem semper habebo, Lupe.[2]

[1] F. Leo, *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati opera poetica*, in *MGH., Auctor. antiq.*, vol. IV, p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 162 f.

Our study will show that the senses retained by these words, through their descendants in the Celtic and Germanic languages—Irish *cruit*, Eng. *harp*, Ger. *Lied*, etc.—were not original, but were developed during the eighth century and after, as a result of the Arabico-Gothic or Carolingian revival of learning.

Leo has shown that all manuscripts of Venantius, exclusive of the St. Germain Codex Σ, with which we are not concerned, since it has not the texts under discussion, have descended from a corrupt archetype, preserved in the middle of the VIII. century.[1] Now in two manuscripts of the ninth century we have the following poem in tirade rhyme:

Felicis patriae (nostrae) praeconanda fertilitas,
In qua Christi mandatorum declaratur profunditas.
Quae nec poterit absque gloria esse civitas,
In qua sensum sapientum veneratur sublimitas,
Per quos praesentis temporis calcatur cupiditas
Et peritura huius vitae evitatur vanitas.
Ac in tabulis scriptitatur cordis vera caritas
Atque valde stabilitur futurae vitae aeternitas.
Per Moysen latorem legis —sic refert antiquitas—
Populo praecepit deus: cum terrae vobis repromissae venerit hereditas,
Mensae vestrae peregrini comedent dilicias,
Ut vobis semper ministretur datae terrae bonitas.
Per Iesum Christum confirmatur, qui est vita et veritas,
Peregrinorum quanta sit susceptionis qualitas
Et metendi huius fructus caelestis summa dignitas.
Hyronimo Bethlem recepto ecclesiae crevit sanctitas.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. XV.

Et Martino Armorigo refulsit magna claritas,
Cuius vita et virtute Toronus multas epulas
Mendici ac flebiles dirimunt per plateas.
Et Fortunato ab Ravenna Pictonum floret civitas.[1]

W. Meyer, the latest authority on the text of Venantius, holds that this eulogy on the poet, composed, according to his first theory, "in early Carolingian, or even in Merovingian times,"[2] or, to take his later view, "in Poitiers, shortly after Fortunatus' death,"[3] was inserted in the first complete copy of Venantius' works. The conscious use of tirade rhyme, as Professor Wiener has shown, was a peculiarity of Arabic poetry, and spread through Europe from Spain, as a result of the Arabico-Gothic renaissance.[4] We must conclude, therefore, that both the author of the eulogy and the compiler of the archetype were of the Arabico-Gothic school. Tampering with texts and documents, even to the extent of the most impudent forgery, was one of the many accomplishments of this same school.[5] The acknowledged spuriousness of the *Laudatio S. Mariae*, and of a number of the hymns attributed to Venantius, shows that forgeries were committed in his name.[6] We may, then, infer that the Arabico-Gothic editor or editors of Venantius in the eighth century were not too scrupulous in their publication, under his name, of other matter than the *ipsissima verba* of the poet himself.

So far, then, the logic of our investigations leads us to seek, not a Franco-Latin, but a Spanish-Latin origin for our musical terms. We shall discover that

[1] W. Meyer, *Ein Merowinger Rhythmus über Fortunat und altdeutsche Rhythmik in lateinischen Versen*, in *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 32–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[3] W. Meyer, *Über die Handschriften der Gedichte Fortunats*, *ibid.*, p. 87.
[4] L. Wiener, *Contributions toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, vol. I, pp. 42–4, 49.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. XXXIV, 119, 120, 125, 178, 188; cf. p. 47–8, vol. II, *The Letter to the Goths*, *passim*.
[6] F. Leo, *op. cit.*, pp. 371–86.

they possess a diagnostic significance for the genuineness of the lines in which they are found.

II. Leudus.

In the Mozarabic Ritual, the word *lauda* is used consistently as a rubric, to introduce a hymn of praise. This liturgical sense survives in the Gothic words, *liuthon* "to sing praises," *liuthareis* "temple-singer," (Ezra, II. 41, Nehemiah, VII. 1.)[1] There is also in Gothic *awiliud* "thanksgiving, eucharistia." This, however, as Professor Wiener has shown, is either the Arab. اوليات *'awlayāṭ* of the Mozarabs, or a blend, *eulogia* x *oblata*.[2] Etymologically, *awiliud*, and the verb formed from it, *awiliudon*, are unrelated to *liuthon*, *liuthareis*, both of which have the special connotation of ritual singing. That is to say, Goth. *liuthon*, *liuthareis* are, like OSpan. *laude* "song," Latin loan-words, to be traced to the rubric *lauda* of the Mozarabic Ritual.[3] In Gothic, the form of the word has been assimilated to that of the more common *awiliud*, *awiliudon*. The original meaning has been extended by a natural process of semantic change, to take on the inclusive sense of "sing." Yet the connection of the word with the Mozarabic Ritual rubric was still clear in the mind of the scribe of Codex F of Venantius, so that he emended *leudos* to *laudes*.

The Codex G of Venantius, moreover, has *leudos* glossed by *winileodos*. This gloss is unquestionably taken from Charlemagne's Edict of March 23, 789: "Et ut nulla abbatissa . . . . *winileodos* (*winileudos*,

[1] LXX, ἄδοντες, Vulg., *cantores*.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 211–12.
[3] Codex Ambros. C. 301 (VIII. cent., Ed. G. Ascoli; *Archivio glottologico italiano*, vol. V, p. 349) has on Ps. LXVIII. 30 "ut omnia in *ludes* eius magna dicantur."

venileudus) scribere aut mittere praesumat."[1] We have, then, in the Edict, the earliest exactly datable reference to the currency of *leodus* (OHG. *leod*, in the Keronian Glosses) as a Germanic word. What these *winileodos* were, beyond the fact that they were a kind of secular poetry which the nuns were forbidden to write or exchange, we do not know. Nevertheless, the variant reading *venileudus*, together with the emendation in Codex F of Venantius, *leudos* to *laudes*, suggests that *vini laudes* "praises of wine," is the real meaning of the word.

III. Harpa.

The word *harpa* (OHG. *harpha*) is not found at all in Gothic, nor is it in the Keronian, the oldest of the OHGerman glosses. By a study of the Latin and Germanic glosses to the works of Prudentius, however, its history and semantic evolution may be traced. Let us, then, set down in order all the Prudentius-glosses in which the word is found, together with the lemmata, and the Latin glosses from which the Germanic are derived:

1. *Cathemerinon*, IX. 1:

Da, puer, plectrum.

OHG. SS.,[2] II, 488: plectrum harfa.

2. *Peristephanon*, II. 399:

Ultro e catasta iudicem compellat affatu brevi.

MS.I: e catasta=e craticula qui in catasta erat.

OHG. SS., II, 434: catasta i. genus poene harapha *l* ritipoume screiatun.

[1] *MGH., Leges*, Sect. II, vol. I, p. 63.
[2] SS. = E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutsche Glossen.*

3. *Peristephanon*, X. 467:
Emitto vocem de catasta celsior.
OHG. SS., II, 389: catasta harfa
II, 394: catasta .i. harpha
II, 492: catasta harfa
II, 563: catasta hbrphb (harpha)
II, 581: catasta harpon
4. *Apotheosis*, 148:
Organa, sambucas, citharas, calamosque, tubasque.
OHG. SS., II, 482: sambucas harephan.
5. *Apotheosis*, 388:
Quidquid casta chelys, quidquid testudo resultat.
MS.I: chelys = cithara, musa. chelae, id est, brachia vel cithara magna in caelo.
testudo = musa, vel cythara magna in caelo.
OHG. SS., II, 408: chelis .i. musa *l* harpha
II, 485: chelys harepha
II, 513: chelis hbrphb (harpha)
II, 526: chelys hbrbphb (harapha)
II, 537: gelis harpha *l* misa *l* citara
II, 565: chelys harfa harfb
II, 542: testudo haraffa.

The senses assigned to OHG. *harpha* are "plectrum, rack, torture, stringed instrument (*chelys*, *cithara*, *sambuca*, *testudo*)." To these we must add Span., Prov. *arpa* "claw, talon," Span., Prov., Ital. *arpa* "harp," The task before us is to reconcile these differences in meaning.

Our starting point is with a Semitic word. We have in Assyrian *harbu* "lance, javelin," Heb. חֶרֶב *ḥereb* "sword," Arab. حَرْبَة *ḥarbah* "dart, javelin."[1] This word has passed as a loan-word into Greek, ἅρπη "sickle, scimetar, javelin, goad," which, in turn, has gone into Latin, as we learn from Servius: "Falcatus

[1] This Arab. حَرْبَة *ḥarbah* has given Fr. *harpon*, Eng. *harpoon*.

autem ensis est *harpe*, qua usus est Perseus. Lucanus ait (IX. 603): 'harpen alterius monstri iam caede rubentem'".[1] That the semantic changes affecting derivatives of *ἅρπη*, *harpa* in the Romance and Germanic languages were the product of the glossographer's studies in synonymology, in and after the eighth century, is quite clear in the case of the OHG. gloss *plectrum harfa*. We have in Latin the glosses

CGL.,[2] V, 321, 30: plextrum astella unde cythere modulantur,

IV, 552, 49: plectrum astella unde cythara modolatur uel quo corde tanguntur.

Since the synonym *hastella : ἅρπη* already existed, it was an easy advance in synonymology for *harpa*, OHG. *harfa*, to assume the sense of "plectrum," in accordance with the definition in the foregoing glosses. The other meanings of the word, namely, "rack, torture, stringed instruments," have come about by synonymological association of *harpa*, OHG. *harfa*, with the glosses to *fidicula*.

Prudentius uses this word "fidicula" in the sense of a kind of torture, in *Peristephanon*, X. 481: "Nec distat ignis et fidiculae saeviant." Isidore thus expounds its meaning and etymology: "Ungulae dictae quod effodiant. Haec et fidiculae, quia his rei in eculeo torquentur, ut fides inveniatur."[3] From Isidore's explanation have come the following glosses:

CGL., II, 384, 34: *ὄνυχες οἱ εἰς τὰς βασάνους*, fidiculae.

II, 256, 10: *βασάνου γένος* fidicula.

V, 23, 15: fediculae sunt ungulae quibus torquentur in eculeo ad persas.

For our purpose, however, the most important gloss is that of Iso on the above line of the *Peristephanon:*

[1] Servius, on *Aeneid*, VII. 732, "falcati cominus enses."
[2] CGL. = *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz.
[3] *Etymologiae*, V. 27. 20.

"Fidiculae = funes ad flagellandum, quamvis fidicula a fidibus dicatur, in hoc tamen loco significat ungulas, vel genus tormenti, quo rei in eculeo suspensi torquentur, ut fides et veritas inveniatur. fidicula genus tormenti, vel ferri subtilissimi, quo incidebantur martyres." From this in turn have come:

CGL., V, 456, 53: fidicula genus tormentorum sic profetontide lamminea.[1]

Prudentius-gloss: fidiculae ungulae quibus torquentor martyres in eculeo.[2]

OHG. SS., II, 509: fidiculae geiselun.

II, 536: fidicule genus ferri subtilissimi quo incidebantur martyres .i. geiselun.

Now *ἅρπη*, *harpa*, already meant "scimetar," LLat. *harpa* "weeding-hook," whence expansion of meaning to signify any sharp or pointed and curved weapon or tool was quite natural. The *ungula*, that is, the *fidicula*, was a sharp-pointed iron hook or claw, the Gr. *ὄνυξ*, of the gloss *ὄνυχες οἱ εἰς τὰς βασάνους fidiculae*. It is mentioned in the Greek Acts of St. Menas: "*Καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ μετέωρον γενέσθαι παρασκευάσας, ἐκέλευε σιδηροῖς ὄνυξι τὸ σῶμα διασπαράττεσθαι*".[3] In this way Span., Prov. *arpa* comes to mean "claw." For OHGerman, however, the development must be traced through the intermediary stage of the *catasta*-glosses. These are as follows:

1. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, I. 56:
Post catastas igneas.

MS.I: Catastas = genus tormenti, id est, lecti ferrei, quibus impositi martyres, ignis supponebatur.

OHG. SS., II, 535: catasta genus tormenti .i. ritebouma.

[1] The corrupt "profetontide lamminea" stands for *προφητῶν taedae, lammina*, a reminiscence of Lucretius, III. 1030: "Verbera, carnifices, robur, pix, *lammina, taedae*."

[2] J. M. Burnam, *Glossemata de Prudentio*, in *University of Cincinnati Studies*, Series II, vol. I, no. 4, p. 97.

[3] *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. III, p. 264.

2. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, VI. 33:

Fratres tergeminos tremunt catastae.

Iso: catastae = eculei ardentes. lectus ferreus.

OHG. SS., II, 445: cataste eculei ardentes ł genus tormenti ł screiata.

3. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X. 467:

Emitto vocem de catasta celsior.

OHG. SS., II, 594: catasta prennis.

We observe that to the glossographers *catasta* was a word of not very distinct signification, applicable to various kinds of torture, though properly meaning the iron bed, or *craticula*, the griddle, on which the victims were roasted to death over a slow fire. Iso's *eculei ardentes*, distinguished from the torture of the griddle, must be traced to a confusion between *eculeus* "rack, or wooden horse," and *aculeus* "prickle," that is, the ὄνυξ or *ungula*. That such confusion of the two words existed is shown by ninth century versions of the Martyrdom of St. George:

1. Codex Gallicanus: "Tunc iratus imperator iussit eum in haeculeum adpendi et ungulis radi."[1]

2. Codex Sangallensis: "Et iussit rex ut Georgius mitteretur in aculeo, ut ardeant latera eius."[2]

In these texts, however, the confusion is the opposite of that in the glosses, since *aculeus* of the Sangallensis stands for the *haeculeus* "rack" of the Gallicanus. That *catasta* was supposed to refer to the torture by hot iron hooks is still further shown by the gloss: "catasta prennis" (that is, "burning iron"). Now,

[1] W. Arndt, in *Berichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1874, p. 50. This version is close to the original form of the Martyrdom of St. George.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 267.

harfa is equated with *catasta* in the following glosses:

SS., II, 389: catasta harfa
II, 394: catasta .i. harpha
II, 434: catasta i. genus poene harapha *l* ritipoume screiatun
II, 492: catasta harfa
II, 563: catasta hbrphb (harpha)
II, 581: catasta harpon.

Thus, through the *catasta*-glosses, as the meaning of *catasta* became more generic, *harpha* was established as a partial synonym of *fidicula* for the Germanic glossography.

The final stage in the semantic evolution of *harpa* is attained only when this word takes over all the senses of *fidicula*. We are to note first the etymology of Isidore: "Veteres autem citharam fidiculam vel fidicem nominaverunt, quia tam concinunt inter se chordae eius, quam bene conveniat inter quos fides sit."[1] This explanation was taken over almost verbatim by one Latin glossographer, and recast by another:

CGL., V, 200, 17: fidibus cordis. fides autem dicte quod fidem sibi servent, nec alterius sonos imitentur.

To these we may add the following glosses:

CGL., II, 375, 63: *νεῦρα τὰ τῆς κιθάρας* fides
III, 170, 5: lira fidicula
IV, 76, 11: fidiculae corde cithare
IV, 238, 52: fidicule corde.

The confusion of meanings of *fidicula* is shown by a gloss to Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, X. 481, found in the Valenciennes Codex 413, and independent of Iso's gloss to the same lemma: "Fidiculae id est parve cordae quibus martyr ligabatur."[2] That the synonymological equation *fidicula : harpa*, in the sense of a

[1] *Etymologiae*, III. 22. 4.
[2] J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence*, Paris 1910, p. 213.

musical instrument, took place prior to the development of the Germanic glosses, is proved by the fact that we have Span., Prov., Ital. *arpa*, Fr. *harpe* "harp." The word first appears in ASaxon in the Leiden glossary: "fidicen harperi."[1] In the OHG. Prudentius-glosses, as we have seen, *harfa* is equated with *chelys*, *cithara*, *sambuca*, *testudo*, to which we may add the testimony of the Bible-glosses:

SS., I, 289: psalterium salmharfun
I, 635: psalteria salmhariphun salmharipha salmharpha salminherfa
I, 660: simphoniae harfpfa
IV, 98: sistrum salmharpha salmharphe salm haerphe.

Yet, even in post-Carolingian times, *harpa*, *harfa* was felt to be a new word, not sufficiently naturalized in the Germanic languages to escape the Teutonic passion for textual emendation. This is clear from the readings of the manuscripts of Venantius, in the passage under discussion:

harppa, P (9 cent.), harpa, D (9 cent.), L (8-9 cent), g, m, harpha, B (10 cent.), f.
partha, G (9 cent.), pharpa, C (10 cent.), pharpha, R, F (9 cent.)
pharphas, A (9 cent.)

Had *harpa* been a mere back-Latinization of a good Germanic word, such variants could not have occurred. They are not blunders, but the result of a conscious effort to better the text, which, as Meyer has shown, was one of the aims of the Carolingian scribes.[2] We may at least suspect that the reading *pharphas* (*pharpha*, *pharpa* , *partha*) is an Arabico-Gothic gloss, بربت *bar-*

[1] J. H. Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, Cambridge 1906, xlvi, 9.
[2] *Über Handschriften der Gedichte Fortunats*, in *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1908, p. 104.

buṭ, itself a loan-word through the Persian, from the Gr. *βάρβιτος* "bass-lyre."

IV. Rotta.

In the text of the Epistle to Lupus, the Codex F has *rotta*, whereas the other manuscripts have variously *crotta* (A, P, M, G, L, R), *crottam* (C), *chrotta* (B, D, g). This word *rotta* is found in a letter of Cuthbert of Northumbria to Lull of Mainz: "Delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara, quam nos appellamus rottae; quia citharum habeo, et artificem non habeo."[1] No trace of it, however, is to be discovered in the ASaxon glosses. On the other hand, we have OFr. *rote* and OSpan. *rota* as names of stringed instruments, so that we are led to seek the origin of the word in Spain.

From Al-Makkari, in *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain*, we have the following statement: "Musical instruments of all sorts may at any time be procured in Seville, where they are manufactured with the greatest skill. There wilt thou find the khiyál, the kerbehh, the 'oûd, the *rótteh*, the rabáb, etc."[2] No such word as *rotteh* is given in the Arabic dictionaries, yet it is easily to be explained as a loan-word, which had come into Spain with the Oriental professional musicians of the court of the Arab kings. We have in Persian, as names for these professionals, *rūdgar* "musician, maker of strings for musical instruments," *rūdzan* "harper," *rūdsaz* "musician." There is also a word *rūdǵāmah* "lute." The first part of these compounds is seen in Pers. *rūd*, *rod* "bowstring, string of a musical instrument, vocal or instrumental

[1] P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, Berolini 1866, p. 302.
[2] Vol. I, p. 58 f., translated by P. de Gayangos. Al-Makkari here quotes from the *Risaleh* of Ash-Shakandi (d. 1231–2).

music," *rūda* "gut, string," also in Pehlevi, *rude*, *rotik* "gut." The reading *rotta* of Codex F, since it is so close to Span. *rota* "stringed instrument," serves still more to show that the text of Venantius has been through an Arabico-Gothic recension.

Not before the tenth century is there any certain evidence of the currency of *rotta* as a Germanic word. The first writer to use it is Notker, who equates it with *psalmus*, *psalterium*. On Psalm 80.3 he says: "Daz sáltirsanch heîzet nû in dûtiscun *rótta*, a sono uocis, quod grammatici facticium uocant, ut titinnabulum, et clócca."[1] That is to say, *rotta* was in Notker's time established as a book-word. Later, in the eleventh century, we have the glosses:

SS., III, 65: lira rodda

III, 140: cythareda roddari roddare rodtare roddar.

That we are dealing with a loan-word in Germanic is further shown by the variations in orthography. We have in OHGerman *rodda*, *rotta*, as we had also OHG. *harpon*, *harpha*. Unlike *harpa*, however, this *rotta* never established itself permanently in the Germanic languages.

V. Crotta, chrotta.

There is no early evidence of the existence of such a word as *crotta*, *chrotta*, independently of the lines in the Epistle to Lupus, in which it is found. The word survives in Irish *cruit* "harp," Welsh *crwth*, Eng. *crowd* "fiddle." Since in the line of the Epistle the text reads

Graecus achilliaca, crotta Britanna canat,

the Irish glossographers presumed that the word was "Celtic," hence it passed into OIrish *crott* "harp," *cruitte* "harper," and Welsh *crwth*, the name of a

[1] Cf. Psalms, 56.9, 67.1, 91.2.

bowed instrument. In OIrish it is found already in the Würzburg Glosses, made about the year 800. The fact that there were no bowed instruments in Europe till they were introduced by the Arabs, excludes for the Welsh *crwth* the possibility that name or thing is Celtic.

In Germanic, this *crotta*-form is found only in a gloss to Daniel, III. 5:

SS., I, 660: sambuce hruozza

I, 801: sambuces hruozzun.

As to the origin of *crotta*, and its relation to *rotta*, we can only suggest that, if it be not a mere copyist's blunder in the Carolingian archetype of Venantius' works, which the scribe of F was clever enough to emend to *rotta*, it is a blend of *rotta* x *corda*, due to the influence of the *fidicula-corda* glosses. In either case, it is a ghostword.

VI.

Our conclusion, from the history of the four musical terms—or three, *leudus*, *harpa*, *rotta*, if we exclude *crotta*—is that the Preface to Venantius' poems is a forgery, and the two couplets in the Epistle to Lupus are interpolations. The association of *rotta*, *crotta* with Britain gives us a clew to the date when the interpolations and the forgery were made. Cuthbert, in his letter to Lull, says of the *cithara*, "quam nos appellamus *rottae*," whence the forger, who must have known this letter, assumed that *rotta* was the native name of the British national instrument. Wherefore, he inserted the couplet

Romanusque lyra, plaudat tibi barbarus harpa,
Graecus achilliaca, rotta Britanna canat,

while he failed to observe the fact that the interpolated couplet interrupts an otherwise well arranged group.

Moreover, when he added the other spurious couplet, he was oblivious of the fact that, whereas in the Epistle the poet had used the first person singular, he had yet written:

Nos tibi versiculos, dent barbara carmina leudos:
Sic variante tropo laus sonet una viro.

The last half of the elegiac line is taken bodily from another poem by Venantius:

Diversis linguis *laus sonat una viri* (VI. 2.8).[1]

The words *leudus*, *harpa*, *rotta* were out of the way terms, bookish and learned, none more so than the *achilliaca*, the name of the supposed national instrument of the Greeks. This is the *achilliakon*, mentioned elsewhere only in a Greek alchemic document: "*ἔστι γὰρ πλινθίον τὸ διὰ τῶν λβ', λύρα ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα, ἀχιλλιακὸν, τὸ διὰ κα'.*"[2] In the Preface, the forger copied himself, so clearly is the phrase, *sola saepe bombicans barbaros leudos arpa relidens*, a combination of "barbarus harpa" and "dent barbara carmina leudos." The fact that his Latinity is touched with the floridity and bombast of the Hisperic Jargon affected by the Arabico-Gothic school and their imitators, again shows his association with this school.

[1] F. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[2] M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchemistes grecs*, vol. III, p. 438.

WORD INDEX

Aeth. = Aethiopian. — *Arab.* = Arabic. — *AS.* = Anglo-Saxon. — *Assyr.* = Assyrian. — *Avest.* = Avestan. — *Chald.* = Chaldaic. — *Copt.* = Coptic. — *Egyp.* = Egyptian. — *Eng.* = English. — *Finn.* = Finnish. — *Fr.* = French. — *Ger.* = German. — *Goth.* = Gothic. — *Gr.* = Greek. — *Heb.* = Hebrew. — *Ir.* = Irish. — *Ital.* = Italian. — *Lat.* = Latin. — *LLat.* = Low Latin or Late Latin. — *MPers.* = Modern Persian. — *Navar.* = Navarrese. — *OCatal.* = Old Catalan. — *OFr.* = Old French. — *OHG.* = Old High German. — *OIr.* = Old Irish. — *OItal.* = Old Italian. — *ONorse* = Old Norse. — *OPers.* = Old Persian. — *OPort.* = Old Portuguese. — *OS.* = Old Saxon. — *OSpan.* = Old Spanish. — *Pehl.* = Pehlevi. — *Pers.* = Persian. — *Prov.* = Provençal. — *Sansk.* = Sanskrit. — *Scand.* = Scandinavian. — *Span.* = Spanish. — *Syr.* = Syriac. — *Talm.* = Talmudic. — *Welsh* = Welsh.

Lat. *aculeus*, 308.
Lat. *aerumna*, 10.
Arab. *'afan*, *'afin*, 95.
LLat. *afrodica*, 258.
Gr. ἀφροδίτη, 258.
Gr. ἄγγω, 265.
Goth. *airþa*, 211.
Arab. *'akūz*, 265.
Arab. *'alahrām*, 159.
Arab. *alamān*, 216.
Arab. *albairuḫun*, 90.
OPort. *alcaçarias*, 125.
OSpan. *alcazar*, 125.
Navar. *alcazaria*, 125.
LLat. *aliurunna*, 90.
Arab. *alqaṣr*, 125.
OHG. *alruna*, 90.
Arab. *'alsamā*, 212.
Arab. *'alyabruḫun*, 90.
Arab. *'anas*, 79 f.
Arab. *'anazaḥ*, 265.
Arab. *'anīs*, 79 f.
Arab. *'anisa*, 80.
Arab. *'aram*, 9.
Syr. *'aram*, 9.
Arab. *'araṣah*, 212.
LLat. *arcatura*, *arcaturia*, 125.
LLat. *arctous*, 134.
Arab. *'ard*, 211.
Chald. *'arēmṭā*, 9.
Arab. *'arīd*, 211.
Syr. *'arīm*, 9.
Arab. *'ārim*, *'arim*, 9.
MPers. *ariz*, *arez*, 294.
Pers. *arj*, 293.
OHG. *arm*, *aram*, 10.
Goth. *armhairtei*, 10.
OHG. *armida*, 10.
Goth. *armosta*, 9 f.
ONorse. *armr*, 10.
Goth. *arms*, 9 f.
Span., Prov., Ital. *arpa*, 305, 310.
Gr. ἅρπη, 305.
LLat. *artous*, 134.
Arab. *'aṣfar*, 110.
ONorse. *áss*, 80.
Arab. *'aṣ-ṣafrā'u*, 258.
Arab. *aš-šariqiy*, 133.
Arab. *aš-šarq*, 138.
Arab. *aššrāqūṭ*, 133.
Gr. ἀσυντελῆς, 136.
Gr. ἀτελῆς, 136.
Arab. *'atla*,' 208.
Arab. *'aṭrafa*, 91.
Goth. *awiliud*, 303.
Arab. *'awlayāṭ*, 303.
Arab. *'aẓīm-'il-ġāh*, 84.

Arab. *bāl*, 296.
LLat. *balaena*, *balaera*, 296.
Arab. *balāgun*, 78.
LLat. *balcatorium*, 126.
LLat. *balcheteria*, 126.
LLat. *balchio*, 127.
LLat. *balchonus*, 127.
LLat. *balco*, 127.

LLat. *balkeria*, 126.
LLat. *ballatorium*, 127.
Gr. *βάρβιτος*, 311.
Arab. *barbuṭ*, 310 f.
LLat. *barcaturia*, 126.
LLat. *baricatorium*, 127.
LLat. *barritus*, 273 ff.
LLat. *belagines*, 74, 78.
OHG. *bidarbi*, 93.
OHG. *bidurfan*, 93.
AS. *bilage*, 78.
AS. *burhrūna*, 90.
Scand. *bylag*, 78.

LLat. *camara*, 245 f.
LLat. *camereca*, 246 ff.
Lat. *canalis*, 283.
Lat. *canister*, 283.
Lat. *canna*, 283.
OHG. *cascritan*, 103.
OHG. *cascritant*, 104.
LLat. *catasta*, 307 ff.
OHG. *ceine*, 282.
AS. *ceola*, 248.
Copt. *χarkinos*, 293.
LLat. *chrotta*, 311 ff.
OHG. *claffon*, 275.
LLat. *clefare*, 275.
LLat. *clefium*, 275.
AS. *clepian, cleopian*, 276.
AS. *clypian*, 276.
LLat. *colcherium*, 247 f.
LLat. *collybista*, 122.
OIr. *crott*, 312.
LLat. *crotta*, 300, 311 ff.
Eng. *crowd*, 312.
Ir. *cruit*, 301, 312.
OIr. *cruitte*, 312.
Welsh. *crwth*, 312.

Arab. *daraba*, 128.
OHG. *darben*, 93.
OHG. *darf*, 93.
Arab. *darīb*, 128.
OHG. *derb*, 93.
Goth. *draibjan*, 128.
LLat. *draparia*, 128.
LLat. *draparius*, 123.
LLat. *draperius*, 128.
OCatal. *drapés*, 122.
LLat. *drapus*, 123, 128.
Goth. *dreiban*, 128.
OHG. *drīban*, 128.
ONorse. *drifa*, 128.
AS. *drifan*, 128.
OHG. *durfti*, 93.
Arab. *dzahab*, 213.

AS. *eard, eorþ*, 211.
AS. *earm, arm*, 10.
Lat. *eculeus*, 308.
Sansk. *eka-cara*, 293.
LLat. *eleuans*, 275.
Gr. *ἡμικόσμιον*, 102.
AS. *eored, eorod*, 211.
AS. *eorl*, 108.
AS. *eormen-cyn*, etc., 156.
AS. *eostur-monath*, 138.
OHG. *eratha*, 211.
Heb. *erez*, 210 f.
LLat. *erile*, 108.
OS. *erl*, 108.
LLat. *eruli*, 108.
Chald. *eššā*, 211.

AS. *falaed*, 109.
Arab. *falaḥaṭ*, 110.
OFr. *falde*, 109.
OPort. *faldra*, 109.
OS. *faled*, 109.
AS. *falud*, 109.
Fr. *fange*, 96.
Ital. *fango*, 96.
Goth. *fani*, 96.
LLat. *feld*, 99, 108 f.
OHG. *feld*, 109.
AS. *feld*, 109.
ONorse. *fen*, 96.
OHG. *fenna*, 96.
Lat. *fidicula*, 306 f.
LLat. *fidicula*, 309.
LLat. *finni*, 96.
AS. *fold, folde*, 109.
Pers. *frahvar*, 146.
MPers. *fravar*, 146.
OPers. *fravašay*, 146 f.
Goth. *fruma jiuleis*, 139.

Arab. *gabānaṭ*, 82.
Arab. *ġabbār*, 209.
Goth. *gadraban*, 128.
OHG. *gambren*, 209.
OHG. *gambri*, 209.
Arab. *ġanāb*, 137.
Arab. *ġanaba*, 137.
Arab. *ġanūb*, 137.
Pers. *gāz*, 124.
Pers. *gāzur*, 124.

LLat. *gepanta*, 81 f.
Syr. *gerḏ depūrqāné*, 146, 148.
AS. *giuli*, 139.
Assyr. *gizzu*, 124.
LLat. *gremium*, 9.
Arab. *ǧunub*, 137.

OHG. *haerda*, 211.
Goth. *hairda*, 211.
LLat. *haliurunna, haluirunna*, 87, 90.
Arab. *ḥarbah*, 305.
Assyr. *ḫarbu*, 305.
LLat. *harde*, 211.
OFr. *harde*, 211.
OHG. *harfa*, 304 ff.
Aeth. *ḥarīs*, 293.
Arab. *ḥariš*, 293.
Arab. *ḥarmīs*, 294.
Eng. *harp*, 301.
LLat. *harpa*, 300.
Lat. *harpe*, 306.
Fr. *harpe*, 310.
OHG. *harpha, harfa, etc.*, 304 ff.
AS. *helirun, hellrun*, 90.
OHG. *helliruna*, 90.
Heb. *ḥēmār*, 258.
AS. *heord*, 211.
OHG. *herda*, 211.
Heb. *ḥereb*, 305.
Lat. *herus*, 108.
OHG. *hirdi, hirti*, 211.
Arab. *hirm*, 151, 158.
OHG. *houscrich*, 105.
OHG. *hruozza*, 313.
Arab. *ḥumar*, 258.
LLat. *humericus*, 258.

Arab. *'ins*, 79.
Arab. *'insān*, 80.
Arab. *'irdah*, 211.
OHG. *irmingot*, etc., 156.
OHG. *irminsul*, 154 f.
OS. *irminthiod*, etc., 156.
Gr. *ἰτέαι*, 284.
Arab. *'ittala'a*, 208.

ONorse. *jarl*, 108.
Goth. *jiuleis*, 139.
ONorse. *jörmun-gandr*, etc., 156.

Arab., Pers. *kalak*, 247.
Syr. *kalkā*, 248.
Arab. *kalkal*, 247 f.

Gr. *κάμαρα*, 245 f.
OHG. *kambaren*, 209.
Egyp. *kanen*, 283.
Gr. *κάνεον*, 283.
Gr. *κάννα*, 283.
Gr. *κανών*, 283.
Arab. *kānūn*, 139.
MPers. *kar*, 294.
Pers. *karg, kargadan*, 293.
Arab. *karkaḏan*, 293.
Arab. *karkanḏ*, 293.
MPers. *kar-māhī*, 294.
Gr. *καρταζών*, 293.
OHG. *keola*, 247 f.
Sansk. *khaḍga, khaḍgin, khaḍgadhenu*, 292.
Pers. *kilk*, 247.
OHG. *kistritant*, 104.
Gr. *κοσμέειν*, 102.
Gr. *κόσμος*, 102.
Assyr. *kurkizannu*, 293.

AS. *lagu*, 78.
LLat. *lauda*, 303.
OSpan. *laude*, 303.
OHG. *leod*, 304.
LLat. *leodus*, 303 f.
LLat. *leudi*, 303 f.
LLat. *leudus*, 300.
Ger. *Lied*, 301.
Goth. *liuthareis*, 303.
Goth. *liuthon*, 303.
ONorse. *lög*, 78.

MPers. *māhī(k)arez*, 294.
Arab. *maqsūmun*, 102.
LLat. *marcholo, morcholom*, 159.
Arab. *marmīs*, 294.
Syr. *Mārt Maryam*, 139.
LLat. *Meroheus*, 294.
LLat. *Meroveus*, 294 f.
LLat. *micosmin*, 102.
Arab. *miraǧ*, 294.
AS. *modranicht*, 139.
Gr. *μυοπάρων*, 246, 250.
Arab. *muqassimun*, 102.
Arab. *muṭrabaṭ*, 92.
Arab. *muṭraf*, 91 f.
Arab. *muṭrib*, 92 f.
LLat. *myoparon*, 243 f.

Eng. *narwhale*, 295.
OHG. *nort, nord*, 134.
Arab. *nūqobarḏ*, 216.

ONorse. *ölrún*, 90.
LLat. *ormista*, 9 f.
AS. *ōs*, 80.
OHG. *ostarun*, 137.

LLat. *partha*, 310.
LLat. *peculiarina*, 136.
LLat. *pharpha*, etc., 310.
OHG. *piscrit*, 103.

Syr. *qaçârâ*, 124.
Syr. *qaçrâ*, 124.
Assyr. *qanû*, 283.
Arab. *qasama*, 102.
Arab. *qaṣara*, 124.
Arab. *qaṣr*, 124.
Syr. *qçar*, 124.
Talm. *qereš*, 293.
Arab. *qiṣâraṭ*, 124.

Pers. *rod*, 311.
OHG. *rodda*, 312.
OSpan. *rota*, 311.
OFr. *rote*, 311.
Pehl. *rotik*, 312.
LLat. *rotta*, 300, 311 f.
OHG. *rotta*, 312.
Pers. *rūd, rūda*, 311 f.
Pehl. *rude*, 312.
Pers. *rūdǵāmah*, 311.
Pers. *rūdgar*, 311.
Pers. *rūdsaz*, 311.
Pers. *rūdzan*, 311.

LLat. *safargica*, 258.
Arab. *ṣafrā 'u*, 110.
Arab. *sahmgarb*, 173.
Arab. *sahmun garbun*, 148.
LLat. *sappherinus*, 110.
Arab. *šaraḍa*, 106.
Heb. *ṣarîḍ*, 106.
Arab. *šarîḍ*, 106.
LLat. *scamma*, 109.
OHG. *schrecken*, 105.
OHG. *sclifh*, 107.
OHG. *scrat, scrato*, 106.
OHG. *scrazzo*, 106.
OHG. *screitan*, 104.
OHG. *screzzo*, 106.
OHG. *scric*, 105.
OHG. *scrican*, 105.
OHG. *scrichit*, 105.
AS. *scrid, scrida*, 103.
AS. *scridan*, 103.
AS. *scride*, 103.
OHG. *scriti, scritamal*, 103, 105.
Arab. *sin*, 283.
Arab. *širâḍ*, 106.
Gr. *σκαίρω*, 106.
Gr. *σκιρτάω*, 106.
ONorse. *skrida*, 103.
ONorse. *skriđa*, 104.
ONorse. *skríđa*, 104.
ONorse. *skriđna*, 104.
ONorse. *skriđr*, 104.
ONorse. *skrikan*, 106.
OHG. *slathe*, 107.
OHG. *sleihha*, 107.
OHG. *sletton*, 107.
OHG. *slezo*, 107.
AS. *slīdan*, 107.
OHG. *sliddo*, 107.
AS. *slide*, 107.
OHG. *slīfan*, 107.
OHG. *slīhan*, 107.
OHG. *slito*, 107.
Syr. *srad*, 106.
AS. *stic-taenil*, 282.
LLat. *strava*, 90, 92 f.
OBulg. *strava*, 93.
OHG. *strecchan*, 105.
OHG. *stric*, 105.
AS. *strīcon*, 106.
ONorse. *striđ*, 105.
AS. *stride*, 104.
AS. *stridit*, 104.
OHG. *strit*, 105.
OHG. *stritlaufo*, 105.
OHG. *stritlauft*, 105.
OHG. *strūchon*, 105 f.
Arab. *ṣufur*, 258.
OHG. *sundar*, 137.
OHG. *sundaric*, 137.
LLat. *sundrialis*, 134, 136.
LLat. *sundrium*, 134 f, 136.
Goth. *sundro*, 137.
Gr. *συντέλεια*, 137.
LLat. *suntelites*, 136.
Gr. *συντελίτης*, 136.
OHG. *suntriga*, 137.
Finn. *suo*, 96, 111.
Finn. *suomi*, 96, 111.
Syr. *sūrâdâ*, 106.

Goth. *tainjo*, 282 f.
Goth. *tains*, 282 f.
AS. *tān*, 282 f.
Arab. *tann*, 283.

Pers. *tarb*, 92.
Avest. *tarep*, 91.
Pers. *tarfenda*, 91 f.
Arab. *ṭarib*, 93.
Arab. *ṭariba*, 92 f.
Arab. *ṭarifa*, 91 f.
Arab. *ṭa'rīm*, 9.
Talm. *ṭarpūṭ*, 91.
ONorse. *teinn*, 282 f.
ONorse. *teinur*, 282.
Egyp. *ṭena*, *ṭenu*, 283.
Heb. *tene*, 283.
LLat. *teni*, 282.
Talm. *tĕnī*, 283.
AS. *tenil*, 282.
Talm. *ṭĕrap*, 91.
Gr. *θαλαμηγός*, 248 ff.
Goth. *þarba*, 93.
Goth. *þarbs*, 93.
Goth. *þaurban*, 93.
Goth. *þaurfts*, 93.
Goth. *þaurp*, 93.
OFr. *tiesche*, *tiesque*, etc., 208.
ONorse. *tína*, 283.
Eng. *tine*, 283.
Arab. *tinn*, 283.
MPers. *tir*, 147.
LLat. *traparia*, 128.
LLat. *traparium*, 122.
LLat. *trapezeta*, *trapezita*, 122 f.
LLat. *trapus*, 122 f.
OBulg. *trêba*, 93.
LLat. *trebo*, 92.
OBulg. *trêbovati*, 93.
OItal. *tudesco*, 208.
Talm. *tūnā*, 283.
Arab. *tunn*, 283.
Arab. *ṭurfaṭ*, 91 f.
LLat. *tutiscus*, 208.

OHG. *unbidarbi*, 93.
Lat. *ungula*, 308.

Arab. *valīḍah*, 279.
LLat. *vang*, 96.
LLat. *varicatoria*, 126.
LLat. *veleda*, 279 f.
LLat. *venileudi*, 304.

OHG. *wal*, *walr*, 295 f.
LLat. *winileodi*, 303 f.

Heb. *yaīn*, 211.

OHG. *zain*, *zein*, 282.
Ger. *Zain*, 283.
Ger. *Zaine*, 283.
Ger. *zainen*, 283.
OHG. *zainja*, 282.
OHG. *zainjan*, 283.
OHG. *zeinjan*, 283.
Chald. *zene*, 283.
Talm. *zinnā*, 283.
Heb. *zinzeneṭ*, 283.

SUBJECT INDEX

Abǧad order of Arabic letters, 266.
Ablabius, 79, 111.
Achilles of the Vandals, 84.
Adites, 100.
Adogit in Jordanes, 95.
Aelian and the rhinoceros, 292.
Aethicus, and Orosius, 17; his *Cosmographia*, 155; and the Meopari, 243 f.; uses Arabic words, 247 f., 258; written in the eighth century, 257 f.; and the Fall of Troy, 257 ff.; and the Gothic alphabet, 265 f.; and the Greek alchemists' alphabet, 267.
Agathias interpolated, 263; and an Arabic weapon, 265.
Ahriman, source of Hermanric, 144 ff.; written backwards, 159; see *Arminius, Hermanric.*
Alamanni confused with Alani, Albani, 260.
Alani confused with Albani, 258.
Albruna, 90, 280.
Alces of Caesar turned into a nation in the *Germania*, 291, 297.
Alchemists' alphabet and Aethicus, 267.
Aliruna, see *Albruna.*
Alruna, its etymology, 90.
Amali = Amalekites, 100.
Ambrose and the Goths, 4 f.
Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Julian myth, 147 f.; a forgery, 151, 275; and *barritus*, 274 f.
Angones an Arabic weapon, 265.
Annales Hirsaugienses, see *Trithemius.*
Annius Viterbensis, not a forger, 200 ff.; Zeno's opinion of him, 202; Tiraboschi's and Ginguené's opinion of him, 202; Muenster's opinion of him, 202 f.; and Rabbi Samuel, 203; and the Talmud, 203 f.
Anonymus Valesianus has original story of Theoderic the Visigoth, 116.
Anses, 79.
Antenor and the Franks, 242 f.
Antiquitas, Gothic, and Jordanes, 67; its meaning in Paulus Diaconus, 67; Saxon, 151.
Apollinaris Sidonius, and the Ostrogoths, 117; and Orosius, 118; 246.
Arabic element in the *Germania*, 291 ff.
Arabic genealogy and the Troy origin, 255.
Arabic origin of chemical terms in Aethicus, 259 f.
Arabic source of Ravenna cosmographer, 101 f.
Arabic words in Aethicus, 247 f., 258.
Arabs and Hindu numerals, 266.
Aretia, in Pseudo-Berosus, 210 f., 298 f.; is the Magna Mater, 212; see *Nerthus.*
Arian Goths, unknown to St. Augustine, 2; in Italy, 4 f.; martyrs, a misnomer, 7 f.
Arii in Tacitus, and Ariovistus, 239.
Ariminum, creed of, and Ulfilas, 7, 58.
Ariprandus, 209.
Aristotle and the rhinoceros, 293.
Arminius myth, 142 ff., 160; in Dio Cassius, 162 f.; and Velleius Paterculus, 163, 173; and Florus, 164; and Tacitus, 164 ff.; and Strabo, 164; in Tacitus derived from the Syrian romance of Julian, 171 f.
Arsa = Arab. *'araṣah*, 212.
Asciburgium, 254; see *Disbargum.*
Asdingi, 83 ff.; its etymology, 84; interpolated in Lydus and Dracontius, 85 f.
Asia and Julian's death, 145 f.
Athanaric, 2 ff.; his persecution of the Goths, 2, 4, 6; and Fritigern, 112.
Audius establishes monasteries in Gothia, 1.

Augustine favorably disposed toward the Goths, 5; knows nothing of Orosius' history, 12; and Maximinus, 53, 57 ff.
Autololes proves Orosius' borrowing from Isidore, 20.
Auxentius, and Ambrose, 4 f.; and Ulfilas, 48 ff.; his spelling is of Spanish origin of the eighth century, 48 f.; of Dorostorum, a false emendation by Kauffmann, 49 f.; discussion of his work, 49 ff.; of Dorostorum unknown to history, 50; his use of *comitatum* of late origin, 52 f.; and Maximinus, 53 ff.
Auxentius of Milan, 50 f., 57 f.

Balcony, history of, 127.
Barak and Bructeri confused, 279 f.
Barritus in the *Germania*, 273; confused in Ammianus with *barditus*, 274 f.
Bede and Easter, 137 ff.
Belagines in Jordanes an Arabic word, 78.
Bishops of the Goths, 1; see *Auxentius, Bretanio, Georgius, John, Moduarius, Selenas, Serapion, Silvanus, Theophilus, Ulfilas, Unilas.*
Borysthenica of Dio Chrysostom source of Jordanes, 69 ff.
Borysthenis, description of the city by Dio Chrysostom, 71 f.; transformed into Buruista, 75.
Bretanio, bishop of Tomes, 44 f.
Bructeri and Barak confused, 279 f.
Bundehesh, 144 f., 294; and Ahriman, 146 f.
Burgundiones, etymology of, 260.
Burning of the Gothic Church, 4, 38 ff.
Buruista in Jordanes, 73 ff.; derived from Borysthenis, 75; in Strabo, 76 ff.; in the time of Sulla, 77.

Caesar, borrowing from him in the *Germania*, 236 ff.; see *Germania*.
Camara, 245 f.; in Aulus Gellius, 249.
Cambra, see *Gambara*.
Camereca, formation of the word, 248.
Capillati, 262; in Jordanes, 69.
Cassiodorus, his *Historia tripartita*, 25; not quoted in MS.V of Isidore, 25 f.; his *Historia tripartita* a forgery, 30 ff.
Castor and Pollux in the *Germania* and the unicorn, 296.
Cedrenus does not know of Visigoths, 114.
Chemical terms in Aethicus, 257 f.
Chronicon Alberici, 205 f.
Chronicon Paschale, 145.
Circe and Alruna, 90.
Claudian and Ostrogoths, 116.
Codex No. 140 and Gothic alphabet, 268.
Comitatus, as used in Auxentius, 52 f.; of the *Germania* merest nonsense, 289 ff.
Compendium, 219 ff.; see *Trithemius.*
Conciliabulum of Constantinople, 42.
Constantine and the Goths, 46.
Crimean Goths, see *Tetraxite Goths.*
Criniti, 262; see *capillati.*
Ctesias and the rhinoceros, 293.
Cursive Greek and the Gothic alphabet, 267 ff.
Cybele, and Aretia, 212; and Nerthus, 298.

Dacia and Dania confused, 243, 252 f.
Danaus and the Dani, 253.
Dani, 243; and *Daci* confused, 252 f.
Deabus = Arab. *dzahab*, 213.
Deborah is source of Veleda, 278 ff.
Decebalus transformed into Dicineus, 75.
Decretum Gelasianum and Orosius, 27.
Demophilus and Ulfilas, 50.
De origine Francorum, see *Hunibald.*
Devoti of Caesar turned into *comitatus* in the *Germania*, 290.
Dexippus, 83.
Dicineus in Jordanes, 73 ff.; derived from Decebalus, 75.
Dictys, a source of Jordanes, 68.
Dio Cassius, a source of Jordanes, 68 f.; and Arminius, 162.
Dio Chrysostom, a source of Jordanes, 68 ff., 84; and Procopius, 113 f.; and Tacitus, 273.

Disbargum, 261 f.; see *Asciburgium*.
Dispartum, see *Disbargum*.
Divination and the *Germania*, 281 ff.; and Ammianus, 282.
Dīwān = Deborah, 278.
Dorac, 229.
Doros, a city of the Goths, 129.
Dorpaneus = Decebalus, 79 f.
Dory, and Priscian, 130; etymology of, 130 f.; indefinitely used for a region north of the Pontus, 131.
Dracontius, interpolation in, 85 f.
Druids and the Germans, 236 f., 241.
Duces in the *Germania* taken from Druid equites in Caesar, 276.
Dudo and the Dani, 242.
Duras = Dorpaneus, 80.

Edessa and the Goths, 130 f.
Elks transformed into worshipers in the *Germania*, 297.
Επαρχικὸν Βιβλίον, 132.
Epiphanius, his account of Audius, 1; does not know of Ulfilas, 2.
Eudoxius and the Goths, 7 f., 43 f.
Eusebius-Hieronymus, source of Isidore, and, indirectly, of Orosius, 20.
Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Goths, 46; and Auxentius, 49, 51.
Eutropius, a source of Orosius, 22 f.

Fall of Troy, and the Germans, 254 ff.; and the *Liber historiae Francorum*, 254 f.; and Arabic genealogy, 255; and Aethicus, 258 f.
Feld, in the *Origo Langobardorum*, 98; its history, 108 ff.
Finni, in Ptolemy, an interpolation, 94 f.; etymology of name, 95.
Florus, and Orosius, 34; and Arminius, 164.
Fragmenta Valesiana, 80.
Franci = feroces, 157 f.
Francus, in Orosius, 161; and Vasso, 254, 259.
Franks, 241; and the Fall of Troy, 254 ff.; as viewed by Masʿūdī and Agathias, 263 f.
Fravašay, 146 f.
Fredegar's Chronicle, has come down in eighth century rifacimento, 254; and the sea-monster myth origin of the Merovingians, 294 ff.
Fredum, 287.
Fritigern, 6; and Athanaric, 112.
Fulleries, history of, 123 ff.; in Spain, 125; in Italy, 125 ff.
Futhork order explained, 272.

Gaetuli and Mauri, an interpolation in Isidore, 157.
Gaina and the Goths, 36 ff.
Gambara, 209.
Gambrivius in Pseudo-Berosus, 209.
Ganna, 278 f.
Gaulales, a blunder in Isidore, 19.
Gedaliah Ibn Yaḥya, 210.
Generatio regum et gentium, 213.
Gennadius and Orosius, 28 f.
Georgius, bishop of the Goths, 131.
Gepanta = Gipedes, 81.
German mythology, its borrowings from the Roman, 238 ff.
Germani, Isidore's etymology of, 156; and Tungri in Tacitus, 260 f.
Germania of Tacitus, 80, 273 ff.; mentions Finns who in Ptolemy are an interpolation, 94; borrows from Caesar, 236 ff.; and the Swedish pirates, 251 f.; cribbing from the *Historiae*, 281; discussion of chap. III, 273 ff.; VII, 236 f., 276; IX, 237 f., 280 f.; X, 281 ff.; XI, 240 f., 284 ff.; XII, 287 ff.; XIII, 288 f.; XIV, 290 f.; XXVIII, 297; XXXIX, 297; XL, 298 f.; XLIII, 239, 291 ff.; XLIV, 251 f.; XLVI, 252.
Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium, 65.
Gesta Aquileia, see *Auxentius*.
Getica, not written by Dio Chrysostom, 68; see *Jordanes*.
Ginguené on Annius, 202.
Gipedes, its etymology, 81.
Gothic alphabet, and the *Polygraphia*, 235; and the Greek numerals, 265; and the runes, 265 ff.; and the cursive Greek, 267; a normalized alphabet of Wasthald, 268; formation of its letters explained, 268 f.; and the Vienna codices, 268 f.; see *Wasthald*.

Gothic language in the church at Constantinople, 41.
Goths, mentioned by St. Augustine, 2; and John Chrysostom, 3; in Italy, 4; in the ecclesiastical writers, 6; and Valens, 43 ff.; and Constantine, 46; of Edessa, 130 f.; and Moors, see *Gaetuli*.
Greek language and the Teutons, 235.
Greek numerals, basis of Gothic alphabet, 265 ff.; and the *Polygraphia*, 267.
Gregory of Tours, and Orosius, 32 ff.; and Ostrogoths, 116; and German divinities, 238; interpolated, 262 f.
Guilielmus of Mantua, 204.

Haliurunna, see *Alruna*.
Harman = Hermanric, 148 f.; confused by Arabs with Hermes, 151.
Heeger and the Dani, 243.
Hercules Alemannus, 209.
Hercules Saxanus, 210.
Hermanric, 142 ff.; = Ahriman, 144 ff., 148 f.
Hermes, builder of pyramids, 151.
Herminon, in Pseudo-Berosus, 160.
Hermiones in Mela, 218.
Herodotus, and the Borysthenitae, 72.
Herthus, see *Nerthus*, 298 f.
Heruli, etymology of, 108.
Hindu alphabet, supposed to be identical with the numerals, 266; and the Arabs, 266; in Pseudo-Boetius and Virgil Maro, 270.
Historia = *Antiquitas* in Isidore, 245.
Historia Brittonum, 214.
Historia tripartita of Cassiodorus, 25, 30 ff.; and Ulfilas, 35.
Hoamer of the Vandals, see *Homer*.
Homer, transferred to the Goths, 71; turned into Vandal Hoamer, 83 f.
Hunibald, and the Germans, 157; 219 ff., 229; his work lost, 223 f.; a forgery, 234; and the Gothic alphabet, 235; and the Druids, 241; and the unicorn, 295; see *Trithemius*.
Huns, story about them taken out of Herodotus, 88 ff.
Hydatius, source of Isidore, and, indirectly, of Orosius, 23 f.
Hyginus, source of Isidore and Orosius, 13; and ships with double prows, 249.

Ibn Waḥšīyah, 266; and the tree-alphabet, 271 f.
Inguaeo derived from Langobard, 216 f.
Inguaeones, in *Generatio regum et gentium*, 213 ff.; in *Historia Brittonum*, 214; in Nennius, 214; in Pliny, 217; in Solinus, 218.
Irminsul, origin of the myth, 151 ff.
Isaac, the forefather of the Romans, 216.
Isacones, see *Istaevones*.
Isidore, source of Orosius, 11 ff.; does not know Orosius, 30; does not know the *Historia tripartita*, 32; and Orosius, 33; interpolations in his *Etymologiae*, 156 f.; etymology of *Germani*, 156; interpolations in, 245.
Isis, and Tacitus, 280; and the Jews, 281.
Istaevones, see *Isaac*.
Īsū, the country of the, 110 f.
Italus derived from Arab. *'ittala'a*, 208.

Janus, 210 f.
Jerome, a source of Isidore, and, indirectly, of Orosius, 23; and Aethicus, 257.
John, bishop of the Goths, 119 ff.; purloined from the Syrians, 119 ff.
John Chrysostom, and the Goths, 3, 40 f.
Jordanes' Getica, as viewed by Mommsen, 65 f.; testimonia of this work, 65 ff.; and the Ravenna Anonymus, 66; introduction a plagiarism, 66; the Gothic *Antiquitas* its source, 67 f.; quotations from Dio Chrysostom, 68 ff.; confuses Borysthenitae of Herodotus with the inhabitants of Borysthenis, 72; and the division of Goths into Ostrogoths and

Visigoths, 111 ff.; and the Spanish Goths, 140 f.; follows a hodgepodge method, 141 f.
Julian the Apostate, stories of his death, 144 ff.; and Mercurius, 145 ff.; in the Syriac romances, 145 ff.
Justin, source of Isidore, and, indirectly, of Orosius, 20, 22 f.
Justina and the Goths, 5.

Kauffmann and Auxentius, 48 ff.

Langobards connected with *feld*, 108.
Leibniz, 205.
Leo and Venantius, 301.
Liber historiae Francorum and the Fall of Troy, 255.
Long hair and the Franks, 263 ff.; see *capillati*.
Lull and Venantius, 313.
Lydus, interpolations in, 85.

Malalas and Julian's death, 145.
Mannus in Pseudo-Berosus, 209.
Marcellini Comitis Chronicon and Orosius, 29.
Mars, Gothic worship of, due to misunderstanding of passage in Dio Chrysostom, 73.
Marsa and the Goths, 3.
Marsi, and the Goths, 3 f.; in Pseudo-Berosus, 160; in Isidore, 160 f.; in Strabo, 161; in Orosius, 161; and Arminius in Tacitus, 161 f.
Marsus in Pseudo-Berosus, 208.
Martinus Dumiensis and the Ostrogoths, 116 ff.
Mas'ūdī, and the Istaevones, 215 f.; and the Franks, 264.
Maximinus, and Auxentius, 53 ff.; the source of Auxentius' plagiarism, 57.
Mela, a source of Orosius, 13; and Hermiones, 218.
Meopari in Aethicus, 243 f.; see *Myoparones*.
Mercurius and Julian's death, 145 ff.
Mercury in Tacitus taken from Caesar, 237 f.
Merovingians and the unicorn, 294 ff.
Micosmin in Ravenna Anonymus, 102.
Mills of Arabic origin, 129 f.; see *Fulleries*.
Moduarius, deacon of the Goths, 3.
Mommsen, his view of Jordanes, 65 f.; and the Ravenna Cosmographer, 101.
Morcholom = Irminsul, 155; = Ahriman written backwards, 159.
Muenster on Annius, 202 f.
Myoparones, 243 ff.; a nation, 250; origin explained, 253.

Naharvali in the *Germania* = unicorn in Caesar, 291 f.; explained, 295 ff.
Navis camerata, 250.
Nennius interpretatus, 214.
Nerthus, in the *Germania*, 297 ff.; and Aretia, 298; and Ovid's *Fasti*, 298.
Nigue, see *Inguaeo*.
Noah's ark and the ship with double prow, 249.

Odin, 98 ff.
Ogham and tree-runes, 272.
Olybama = Arab. *'alsamā*, 212.
Olympiodorus does not know of Visigoths, 114.
Onomastica of Jerome, 96.
Oribasius and drapus, 123.
Origo Langobardorum and Scandinavia, 98.
Ormista, the title of Orosius' work, 8 ff.
Orosius, his history a forgery, 8; based on Isidore, 8 ff.; not mentioned by St. Augustine, 12; quotes from *De civitate Dei* after his own death, 12; in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, 27; in Pseudo-Isidore, 27 f.; and *Marcellini Comitis Chronicon*, 29; not mentioned by Isidore, 30; mentioned in interpolated *Chronicon* of Prosper, 30; in interpolated Gregory of Tours, 32 ff.; and Isidore, 33; and Florus, 34; and Valens, 46 f.; in Apollinaris Sidonius, 118; and the Marsi, 161.
Ostrogotha, 111.

Ostrogoths, 111 ff.; and Visigoths unknown to Hydatius, Marcellinus, Victor Tonnensis, Johannes Biclarensis, Marius Aventicensis, 114 f.; in *Chronica Caesaraugustana* an interpolation, 115; in Isidore an interpolation, 115; in Claudian, 116; in interpolated Gregory of Tours, 116; in Apollinaris Sidonius, 117; and Martinus, 118.
Ovid's Fasti and Nerthus, 298.

Paulus Diaconus, and Jordanes, 66; and Scandinavia, 98 f.; and the division of the Goths, 112.
Peculiare, meaning of the word, 136.
Petrus Patricius, 80, 86.
Philo, his *Breviarium de temporibus*, 205.
Philostorgius, and Gaina, 38; and Ulfilas, 46 f.; and Photius, 47; is based on Auxentius, 63.
Photius and Philostorgius, 47.
Phrygia, and Julian's death, 145 f.; its etymology, 146.
Pilleati in Jordanes, 69.
Pliny, a source of Orosius, 13; and Inguaeones, etc., 217.
Points of compass in the Germanic languages, 134 ff.
Polygraphia, and the Gothic alphabet, 235; and Greek numerals, 267; Silbernagl's incorrect quotation from it, 225 f.
Priscian and Dory, 130.
Procopius, interpolated, 83 f.; on Scandinavia, 96 ff.; and the Visigoths, 112; and Dio Chrysostom, 113; and the Tetraxite Goths, 118 f.; and Dory, city of the Goths, 129 f.; describes Dory like Edessa, 131.
Prosper of Aquitaine's Chronicon interpolated, 30.
Pseudo-Bede, and Noah's ark, 249; and Greek numerals, 267; and Aethicus, 268.
Pseudo-Berosus, 160, 174 ff.; and Tuiscon, 208; and Marsus, 208; and Gambrivius, 209; and Mannus, 209; and Aretia, 210 f.; and Inguaeones, 213.
Ptolemy, interpolation in, 94.

Rasia and Julian's death, 145 f.
Ravenna Cosmographer, and Jordanes, 66; and older sources, 101 f.
Rerefeni, 99, 102 f.
Rhinoceros, and the Naharvali, 291 f.; and Ctesias and Aristotle, 293.
Rockdwellers of Scandinavia are the Thamudites of the Arabs, 100.
Runes, 265 ff.; origin of letters explained, 269 ff.; related to Wasthald's alphabet, 270; no older than eighth century, 271.

Samuel, Rabbi, and Annius, 203.
Sarus and Ammius, 142, 149.
Saxnot, 209.
Saxon Antiquitas, 151 ff.
Scandinavia, and Procopius, 96 ff.; in the *Origo Langobardorum*, 98; its myth explained, 100 ff.
Scandza in Jordanes, 94, 99.
Scholia Statiana and Jordanes, 65.
Screrefennae, 99.
Scridofinni, *Scrithifinni*, in Procopius, 97; in Paulus Diaconus, 98 f. etymology explained, 103 f.
Scythians, includes the Goths, 45.
Sea-monster and the *Bundehesh*, 293 f; see *Unicorn*.
Segimerus = Arab. *sahmgarb*, 173.
Segimundus = Arab. *sahmun*, 173.
Selenas, bishop of the Goths, 41 f.
Serapion, bishop of the Goths, 3.
Servius, a source of Isidore, 11; and, indirectly, of Orosius, 15 f.
Ships with two prows, 245 ff.; = thalamegus, 248; = Noah's ark, 249.
Sievers and the Ulfilas question, 55.
Sigebert of Gemblaux, the first to mention *Historia tripartita*, 32.
Silbernagl, on Trithemius, 219 ff.; incorrect and unjust in his criticism, 225 ff.
Silvanus, bishop of the Goths, 1.
Sirdifeni, 102 ff.
Sitones in Tacitus, 252 f.
Ski in Jordanes and elsewhere, 103 f.
Socrates, 1, 41 f.; and the Arian Goths, 6.
Soldurii, see *Devoti*.
Solinus, a source of Isidore, and, indirectly, of Orosius, 14, 16, 17; and the Inguaeones, 218.

Sozomenus, 39 f; and the Goths, 6 f.
Spanish Goths, in Southern Russia, 121; and Jordanes, 140 f.
Stabius and Trithemius, 230, 232.
Statius interpolated, 279.
Strabo, interpolations in, 76 ff, 246 ff., 253; and Arminius, 164.
Suehans, 110.
Suetidi, they are the Adites of the Arabs, 100; in Jordanes, 252.
Suetonius and the ship with double prow, 248.
Suevi, confused with Judaei, 281.
Suiones = Īsū, 110; in Tacitus, 252.
Sundrium, meaning of the word, 134 ff.
Sunilda, 142, 149 f.
Swedish pirates and Tacitus, 251.
Sybel and Jordanes, 66.
Syriac chronicle and Julian, 148 f.
Syriac romances of Julian, 145 ff.; and Tacitus, 171 f.
Syriac saint purloined by the Goths, 119 ff.

Tacitus and Arminius, 164 ff.; his *Historiae* interpolated or a forgery, 238, 245 ff.; his *Annales* interpolated or a forgery, 162, 238, 245; and Dio Chrysostom, 273; and Vegetius, 274; see *Germania*.
Talmud and Annius, 203 f.
Tamfanae = tamen fanum, 161.
Tarabosteseos, in Jordanes, explained, 69.
Tetraxite Goths, 113 f.; in Procopius, 118 f.; a blunder for *trapezitae*, 121.
Thamudites, 100.
Theodoretus and the Goths, 7 f., 41.
Theogonius and Auxentius, 51.
Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, 1, 6, 43.
Thuringia, 260 f.
Thusnelda = Sunilda, 164.
Tiraboschi and Annius, 202.
Tištrya, 146 f.
Tomaschek and the Goths, 129.
Translatio S. Alexandri and the Irminsul myth, 151.
Trapezitae in Byzantine law, 132; see *Tetraxite Goths*.
Tree-alphabets, 271 f.; and Ogham, 272.
Trithemius, his *Annales Hirsaugienses*, 219, 228; as criticized by Silbernagl, 219 ff.; his *Polygraphia*, 225 f.; and the work by Hunibald, 225 ff.; and Wasthald, 226; his cautious statements, 226; his blunder in regard to the number of books in Hunibald explained, 229 f.; and the *Compendium*, 229; and the sundial, 230; tearing out two quaternions from the *Annales*, to correct a blunder, 231; and Stabius, 230, 232; chronology of his relation to Hunibald, 232 f.
Trojan origin of the Franks, 241.
Tuiscon, in Pseudo-Berosus, 208; its etymology, 208.
Tungri, and Germans, in Tacitus, 260 f.; confused with Thuringia, 261.

Ulfilas, his Arianism unknown to contemporary authors, 1; unknown to Epiphanius, 2; in Socrates, 6; in Sozomenus, 6; absent from Orosius, 8; in Isidore interpolated, 25 ff.; in the *Historia tripartita*, 32, 35; and Selenas, 41 f.; at the conciliabulum of Constantinople, 42 f.; as mentioned in the ecclesiastic writers, 43 ff.; and Valens, 45 f.; and Philostorgius, 46 f.; and Auxentius, 48 f.; and Demophilus, 50; his life and activity according to Auxentius, 55 f.; his creed based on Maximinus, 58 ff.; contradictions in his creed, as given by Auxentius, 61; explanation of the origin of the myth, 61 ff.
Unicorn, and the Merovingians, 294 ff.; and Castor and Pollux, 296.
Unilas, bishop of the Goths, 3; is Ulfilas, 56 f.
Ursiniana, 86.

Vagio, a ship with double prow, 249 f.
Valens and the Goths, 43 ff.
Vasso and Francus, 254, 259.
Vegetius and Tacitus, 274.
Veleda, 277 ff.

Velleius Paterculus and Arminius, 163, 173.
Venantius interpolated, 300 ff.; his text corrupt, 301; spurious poems in, 302; and Lull, 313.
Vesegothae, see *Visigoths*.
Vesi and Apollinaris Sidonius, 117.
Vestgothi, its etymology, 133.
Vestiarii in Byzantine law, 132.
Victor Tonnensis, his *Chronica*, 85.
Vienna Codex with Gothic alphabet, 268 f.
Visigoths, 111 f.; and Procopius, 112; unknown to Zonaras, Cedrenus, Olympiodorus, 114; in Isidore interpolated, 115; in Anonymus Valesianus, 116; its etymology, 133.
Visu = Isu, 133.
Wadd, 100.
Wake, history of the, 90 ff.
Wasthald, 226, 229 ff.; and the Gothic alphabet, 226, 268 f.; and Wisogastalth confused, 230.
Wisogastalth, 227 ff.

Yule, origin of, 139.

Zarfati, see *Samuel*.
Zeno, his opinion of Annius, 202; and Annius, 205.
Zonaras, leans on Procopius, but does not know of Visigoths, 114; has not the Arminius story, 162.
Zosimus, and Gaina, 38; interpolated, 39.

Table 1

	Cod. Lips. s. VIII.	Hrabanus Maurus	Cod. Vossian. 29 s. X.	Cod. Cotton. s. X.	Cod. Harley. s. XI.	Cod. Vossian. 113 s. XII.
alamoy						
becach						
cathy						
delfoy						
effothy						
fomethy						
garphoy						
hethmy						
iofithy						
kaithy						
lethfy						
malathy						
nabelech						
ozethy						
chorizeth						
pithirin						
salathy						
irthalech						
thothimos						
azathot						
regue						
inchoni						
zothychin						
caraccyn						
talmin						

Table 2

	Cod. Argent.	Cod. Ambros. 2	Cod. Ambros. 3	Cod. Ambros. 1 Marg.	Mon. Aret.	Mon. Neap.	Cod. Vindob.	Cod. Vindob.	Cod. Vindob.
a									
b									
g									
d									
e									
q									
z									
h									
p									
ï									
i									
k									
l									
m									
n									
j									
w									
p									
r									
s									
t									
v									
f									
x									
w									
o									

Table 3

Cursive Greek s. VIII.
Alchemists' Alphabets
Norman Pseudo-Bede
Pseudo-Bede
Otfrid
Dorac
Wasthald

Ibn Wahšiyah's
Hindu Alphabets

Table 4

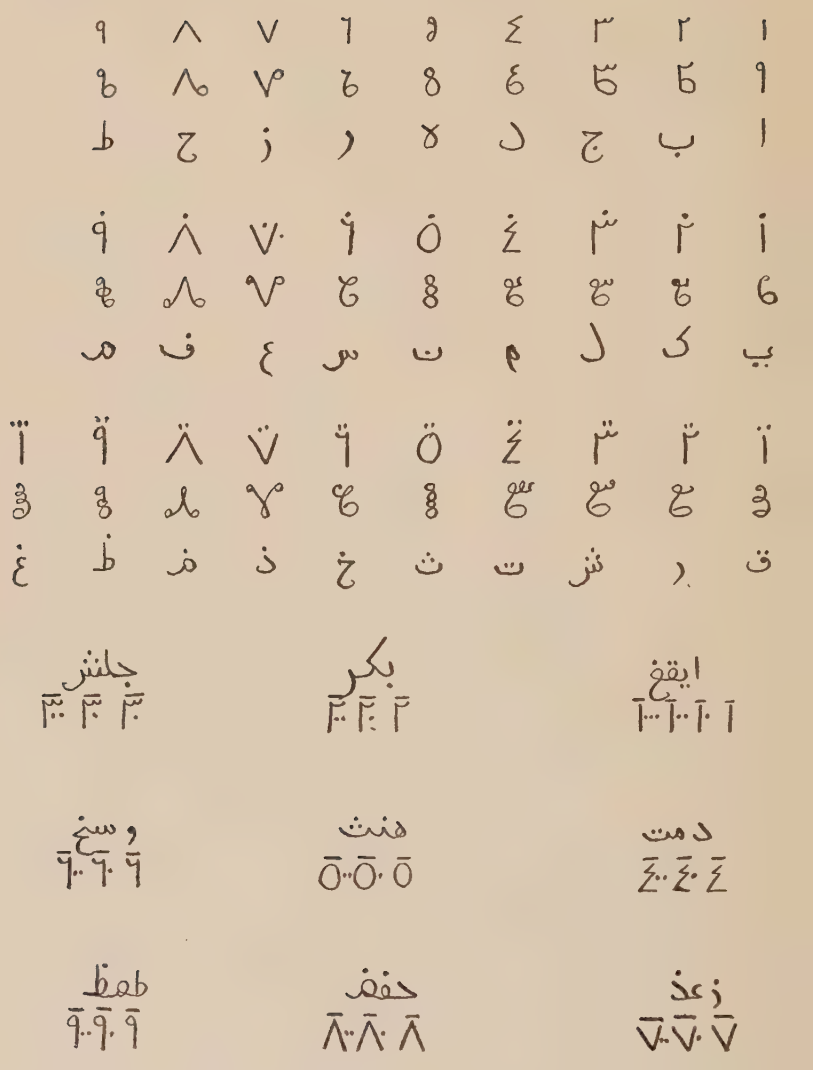

Table 5

	Cod. Sangal. 270	Cod. Vindob. 64	Cod. Exon.	Cod. Isidori Paris.	Anglo-Saxon	Norse
a	ᚨ ᚫ	ᚨ ᚫ	ᚨ	ᚨ	ᚨ ᚪ	ᛅ ᛆ
b	ᛒ	ᛒ ᛒ	ᛒ	ᛒ	ᛒ	ᛒ
c	ᚺ	ᚻ ᚳ	ᚺ ᚸ	ᚺ	ᚺ	
d	ᚦ ᚹ	ᛞ ᛞ	ᛗ ᚦ	ᚦ ᛞ	ᚦ ᛞ	ᚦ
e	ᛖ	ᛖ ᛗ	ᛖ	ᛗ	ᛖ	ᛁ
f	ᚠ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ
g	ᚴ	ᚸ ᚷ	ᚸ ᚴ	ᚷ	ᚷ	ᚴ
h	ᚺ	ᚷ ᚺ	ᚺ ᚾ	ᚺ	ᚻ ᚺ	ᚼ
i	ᛁ	ᛇ ᛁ	ᛁ	ᛇ	ᛁ	ᛁ
k	ᚲ	ᛯ ᚴ	ᚠ ᚴ	ᚳ	ᚳ ᚣ	ᚴ
l	ᛚ	ᛚ ᛚ	ᛚ ᛚ	ᛚ	ᛚ	ᛚ
m	ᛗ	ᛘ ᛠ	ᛘ ᛗ	ᛗ	ᛞ	ᛘ
n	ᚾ	ᛇ ᚷ	ᚾ		ᚾ	ᚾ ᚿ
o	ᛟ ᚢ	ᚱ ᚩ	ᚢ ᛟ	ᚢ ᛝ	ᛟ ᚩ	ᛅ ᚭ
p	ᚿ ᚻ	ᚴ ᚱ	ᚱ ᚸ	ᚱ	ᚴ ᚸ	ᛒ
q	ᛉ	ᛘ	ᛤ ᚳ		ᛘ ᛣ	
r	ᚱ	ᚱ ᚳ	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ
s	ᛊ ᛋ	ᛘ ᛋ	ᛋ	ᛋ	ᛋ	ᛋ ᛁ
t	ᛏ ᚺ	ᛏ ᛏ	ᛏ ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛏ	ᛏ ᛚ
u	ᚢ	ᚢ ᛘ	ᚢ ᚣ	ᚣ	ᚢ	ᚢ
x	ᚷ	ᛋᚳ ᛠ	ᛦ ᛇᚳ			
y		ᚠ ᛉ	ᚠ		ᛘ	ᛦ
z	ᛠ	ᛠ	ᛣ ᛊ			
ð	ᚠ			ᚧ	ᚠ ᚧ	
w	ᚦ				ᚦ	ᚠ

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